



**HISTORICAL POEMS IN SANSKRIT WRITTEN  
BY WOMEN POETS OF ĀNDHRA**  
(Āndhra Kavayitryon dvārā viracita Saṃskṛta Aitiḥāsika Kāvya)

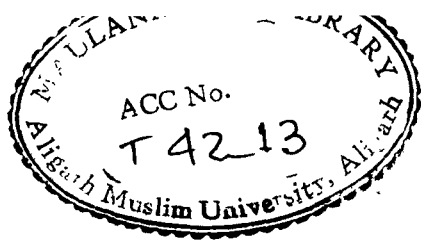
**THESIS**  
SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF  
**Doctor of Philosophy**  
IN  
**SANSKRIT**

BY  
**MRS. MUDIGONDA BALA**

Under the Supervision of  
**Dr. Sreeramula Rajeswara Sarma**

DEPARTMENT OF SANSKRIT  
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY  
ALIGARH (INDIA)

1992

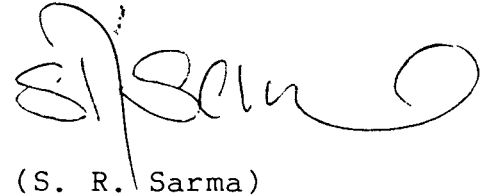


T4213

Dr Sreeramula Rajeswara Sarma  
Reader, Department of Sanskrit  
Aligarh Muslim University  
Aligarh

14 August 1992

This is to certify that the thesis entitled  
*Historical Poems in Sanskrit written by Women Poets of Andhra,*  
submitted for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
in Sanskrit by **Mrs Mudigonda Bala**, is an original work and  
the result of her own efforts and that the candidate has  
fulfilled all the conditions laid down in the ordinances on  
this behalf.



(S. R. Sarma)

Supervisor

# C O N T E N T S.

|  |     |     |    |
|--|-----|-----|----|
| Preface                                      | ... | ... | I  |
| List of Abbreviations                        | ... | ... | IX |
| CHAPTER I                                    |     |     |    |
| Introduction                                 | ... | ... | 1  |
| CHAPTER II                                   |     |     |    |
| Tirumalāmbā , Her Life and Time              | ... | ... | 14 |
| CHAPTER III                                  |     |     |    |
| Historical Background of Varadāmbikāpariṇaya |     |     | 22 |
| 1. Tuluva Dynasty                            | ... | ... | 24 |
| 2. King Nṛsimha                              | ... | ... | 28 |
| 3. Nṛsimha's Marriage                        | ... | ... | 32 |
| 4. Acyuta                                    | ... | ... | 33 |
| CHAPTER IV                                   |     |     |    |
| State and Society in the Varadāmbikāpariṇaya |     |     | 35 |
| A. State                                     | ... | ... | 35 |
| 1. King Nṛsimha                              | ... | ... | 35 |
| 2. Devineness of Kings                       | ... | ... | 36 |
| 3. War-fare                                  | ... | ... | 39 |
| B. Society                                   | ... | ... | 42 |
| 4. Caste system                              | ... | ... | 42 |
| 5. Cities                                    | ... | ... | 44 |
| 6. Temples                                   | ... | ... | 44 |
| 7. Women                                     | ... | ... | 46 |
| 8. Make-up                                   | ... | ... | 46 |
| 9. Prominent Customs                         | ... | ... | 43 |

## CHAPTER V

|                                       |     |    |
|---------------------------------------|-----|----|
| On the Structure and History of Campū | ... | 50 |
|---------------------------------------|-----|----|

## CHAPTER VI

|  |     |    |
|--|-----|----|
| Literary Evaluation of The Varadāmbikāpariṇaya               |     | 61 |
| 1. Contents of the Poem                                      | ... | 61 |
| 2. Language style and Metres                                 | ... | 62 |
| 3. Descriptions  | ... | 65 |
| 4. Rasas   | ... | 71 |
| 5. Alankāras   | ... | 74 |
| 6. Influence of Sanskrit Poets in the<br>Varadāmbikāpariṇaya | ... | 81 |

## CHAPTER VII

|                                 |     |    |
|---------------------------------|-----|----|
| Rāmabhadraṁbā Her Life and Time | ... | 84 |
|---------------------------------|-----|----|

## CHAPTER VIII

|   |     |    |
|---|-----|----|
| Historical Background of The Raghunāthābhyudaya |     | 93 |
| 1. Acyuta Nāyaka                                | ... | 94 |
| 2. Prince Raghunātha's Campaigns                | ... | 95 |

## CHAPTER IX

|  |     |     |
|--|-----|-----|
| The State and Society Depicted in The Raghunāthābhyudaya |     |     |
| 1. Ideals of Kingship                                    | ... | 104 |
| 2. Raghunātha Nāyaka                                     | ... | 106 |
| 3. Dress and Ornaments                                   | ... | 108 |
| 4. His Palaces   | ... | 109 |
| 5. Raghunātha's Literary Achievements and<br>His circle  | ... | 110 |
| 6. Women and Their Accomplishments                       | ... | 113 |
| 7. Customs   | ... | 115 |

CHAPTER X

|   |     |     |
|---|-----|-----|
| Poetic Qualities of The Raghunāthābhyudya | ... | 118 |
| 1. Descriptions                           | ... | 121 |
| 2. Rasas                                  | ... | 126 |
| 3. Alāṅkāras                              | ... | 128 |
| Bibliography                              | ... | 134 |

## PREFACE

Sanskrit as a language and literary activity promoted intellectual communication and strengthened integrity and cultural unity among the peoples of India. Scholarship and creative writing in Sanskrit is not limited to men only. Since Vedic times contribution of women to the service of Sanskrit literature is acknowledged though their number is small as compared to men. Literature has become a major source of tracing history of the ancient and medieval periods of India. Classical literature of Sanskrit includes works composed on historical themes and subjects. Among such historical works, Madhunavijaya, Varadāmbikāparinaya, Acyutarāyābhyudaya and Raghunāthābhyudaya are prominent historical poems composed in Sanskrit in South India. These works were composed mainly in between fourteenth and seventeenth centuries while South India was ruled by Vijayanagara kings and their successors Nāyaka kings.

A remarkable feature of Vijayanagarakings and their successors is that a considerable number of women poets actively participated in the service of literature of Sanskrit and Telugu. That also includes composing historical poems which in later days have become major source of South Indian history. Among the above stated four works except Acyutarāyābhyudaya, the rest are composed by women namely Gaṅgā Devī, Tirumalāmbā and Rāmabhadrambā who hailed from Āndhra Deśa.

Varadāmbikāparinaya and Acyutarāyābhyudaya are the poems composed in the same period on the theme of same personality i.e. Acyutadevarāya of Tuluva dynasty fourth in succession.

Madhurāvijaya is composed in the initial period of Vijayanagara kingdom and whereas Raghunāthābhyudaya is written in seventeenth century while the Nāyaka kingdom at Tanjāvur has become the Successors to the Vijayanagara kingdom.

Here the significant aspect is that composing historical poems initiated by Gaṅgādevī in the fourteenth century that trend is continued by Tirumalāmbā writing Varadāmbikāparinaya, and by Rāmabhadraṁbā composing her poem Raghunāthābhyudaya. Another notable feature is that all these three women poets hailed from Āndra Deśa.

The dissertation "Madhurāvijaya of Gaṅgā Devī: A Study" written by the present author has been awarded by the Degree of Master of Philosophy by Aligarh Muslim University in 1989. The present study is continuation to explore further the contribution rendered by women poets of Āndhra Deśa to Sanskrit by composing historical poems. This research work is submitted for the award of Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sanskrit at Aligarh Muslim University.

This thesis including the introduction contains ten chapters dealing with various aspects of the historical poems written by Tirumalāmbā i.e. Varadāmbikāparinaya and that of Rāmabhadraṁbā i.e. Raghunāthābhyudaya.

In the introductory chapter the growth and development of Sanskrit and Telugu literature under various rulers of Āndhradeśa is discussed. The beginning of literary activity in Sanskrit is not traceable, but it is certain that Sanskrit



preceeded Telugu classical literature. The Vijayanagara rulers with great interest promoted literary activity in Sanskrit and Telugu as a royal tradition established during the rule of the Eastren Cālukyas. The names of women poets figure mostly in the Vijayanagra period who have composed kāvyas. The poems Madhurāvijaya, Varadāmbikāparinaya and Raghunāthābhyudaya are recognised by historians as valuable sources of history and scholars acclaim them as valuable literary works of great poetical values.

Chapters two and seven are devoted towards the life and times of Tirumalāmbā and Rāmahadrāmbā. Unfortunately much is not known about the personal life of them. They have not disclosed it. Whatever little is gathered is from other contemporary poets and their writings. Tirumalāmbā and Rāmahadrāmbā were great scholars and skillful poets in Sanskrit and other languages. Much similarities are noticed between them. They both were courtesans of Vijayanagara kingdom. They had intimacy with their patrons. Their religious faith is Vaiṣṇva cult. Tirumalāmbā lived during the glorious period of Vijayanagara kingdom whereas Rāmahadrāmbā lived in the golden times of Tanjāvur kingdom. Their scholarship and art of composing poetry is exemplary which made them to shine as bright stars in the galaxy of great scholars and poets.

Chapters three and eight are on the discussion of the historical background of Varadāmbikāparinaya and Raghunāthābhyudaya. Tirumalāmbā had chosen the theme on Acyutadevarāya, son of Nṛsiṃha the founder of Tuluva dynasty of Vijayanagara kingdom. Though the poem Varadāmbikāparinaya suggests to be a romantic

but Tirumalāmbā depicts the history of Tuluva dynasty particularly Nṛsiṃha and Acyuta. The poem is devised into two parts, the first describes the campaigns of Nṛsiṃha in strengthening the kingdom and the second about the royal romance between Acy<sup>u</sup>ta and princess Varadāmbikā and their wedding .

Rāmabhadraṃbā chose the life of Raghunātha the third in succession to the Nāyaka kingdom of Tanjāvur. Raghunāthābhyudaya describes the personal life, accomplishments and military achievements of Raghunātha. The kingdom established by Cevva Nāyaka was expanded and strengthened by Raghunātha. Like kṛṣṇadevarāya of Vijayanagara, Raghunātha also shines as a great king of Āndhradeśa by immensely contributing for the promotion of arts and literature. Raghunātha like Kṛṣṇadevarāya, himself was a great poet and musician. Raghunāthābhyudaya is ranked as a Mahākāvya. The important aspect of Raghunāthābhyudaya is its factual description of history.

In chapters four and nine the conditions of State and Society as depicted in Varadāmbikāparinaya and Raghunāthābhyudaya are exposed. The historical events which are described by Tirumalāmbā include the campaigns of Nṛsiṃha against Cola king and the Muslim ruler Suratrāna. Maintaining Vīraras in illustrating these events she describes the chivalry of the army and the weapons and war-drums used in the battles. The generosity of Nṛsiṃha elucidated by Tirumalāmbā when she describes the release of Suratrāna by Nṛsiṃha after his captiveness. Nṛsiṃha's faith in god is described narrating the worship at the temple of Śrīraṅgaṇa after he defeated king Mahāvīra.

The nature of society and the customs followed at various occasions by the royal family and the people, their dress and ornaments are described by the poet. The feminine touch of poet Tirumalāmbā is visualised at various descriptions she made such as the make-up material used by women, the beauty of the city etc. Many of the customs which are depicted in Varadāmbikāparinaya are still in practice in South India.

Raghunāthābhyudaya of Rāmabhadrāmbā also includes the description of State and society. To a large extent the subjects are the same. But description of the daily routine of King Raghunātha is a special feature introduced by the poet. This has become a trend among the later poets. Depiction of the ideals to be possessed by a benevolent king is another addition of Rāmabhadrāmbā. In this respect the influence of Bāna and his Kādambarī is noticed. The cultural, literary accomplishments and military achievements which the poet describes about Raghunātha are authentic. In her poem Raghunāthābhyudaya poet Rāmabhadrāmbā mentions about the beautiful palaces Raghunātha had constructed to perform different activities at those places. The other aspects which she describes about the society such as customs, dress, make-up material and ornaments do not differ much with Varadāmbikāparinaya.

Varadāmbikāparinaya is written by Tirumalāmbā in a Campū form. History of Campū kāvyas written in Sanskrit shows that she is the first women poet to under take such experiment. The technical aspects such as the form, origin and development of Campū is elucidated in Chapter five of the present thesis. The inference is that South Indian poets have a special liking

The nature of society and the customs followed at various occasions by the royal family and the people, their dress and ornaments are described by the poet. The feminine touch of poet Tirumalāmbā is visualised at various descriptions she made such as the make-up material used by women the beauty of the city etc. Many of the customs which are depicted in Varadāmbikāparinaya are still in practice in South India.

Raghunāthābhyudaya of Rāmabhadrāmbā also includes the description of State and society. To a large extent the subjects are the same. But description of the daily routine of King Raghunātha is a special feature introduced by the poet. This has become a trend among the later poets. Depiction of the ideals to be possessed by a benevolent king is another addition of Rāmabhadrāmbā. In this respect the influence of Bāṇa and his Kādambarī is noticed. The cultural, literary accomplishments and military achievements which the poet describes about Raghunātha are authentic. In her poem Raghunāthābhyudaya poet Rāmabhadrāmbā mentions about the beautiful palaces Raghunātha had constructed to perform different activities at these places. The other aspects which she describes about the society such as customs, dress, make-up material and ornaments do not differ much with Varadāmbikāparinaya.

Varadāmbikāparinaya is written by Tirumalāmbā in a Campū form. History of Campū kāvyas written in Sanskrit shows that she is the first women poet to under take such experiment. The technical aspects such as the form, origin and development of Campū is elucidated in Chapter five of the present thesis. The inference is that South Indian poets have a special liking

for campū kavyas. Campū is a development of Dravidian poetic form. Large number of campū kāvyas are written in all the four major languages of South India.

In chapter six evaluation of the literary qualities of Varadāmbikāparinaya is made. This campū is primarily written in praise of Acyutadevarāya, the patron of Tirumalāmbā, and his wedding with Princess Varadāmbikā. But the campū shapes as a historical poem because Tirumalāmbā begins her poem from the origin of Tuluva dynasty; its ascent to the throne of Vijayanagara; the wars fought by its founder Nṛsiṃha to expand and strengthen the Vijayanagara kingdom. Nṛsiṃha was the father of Acyutadevarāya the hero of the campū. So Tirumalāmbā opts to write this part of Varadāmbikāparinaya with Vīrarasa.

The campū is a fine blend of prose and verse harmoniously maintained throughout the text. In Sanskrit Tirumalamba alone is credited for writing longest prose sentence with over sixty words. The poet has a great command over metres. Decoration with arthālankāras and śabdālankāras is a notable characteristic of this campū. A fine use of figures of speech has added additional beauty to it. Giving a musical touch to her composition with alliterations at suitable place is a special quality of Tirumalamba.

Similarly chapter ten deals with the evaluation of poet Rāmaḥṇadrāmbā and the poetic skill she employed in her kāvya Rāghunāthābhyaudaya. Rāmaḥṇadrāmbā was a gem among the company of poets and courtesans decorated the court of king Rāghunātha Nāyaka. The challenging qualities of scholarship

and poetic skill made her to occupy the seat of Sārasvatabhadrāpīṭha in the court of Raghunātha. She was a śatalekhinī in eight languages. The events she described with poetic dress are very authentic and stand for verification by other sources of history.

In Raghunāthābhyudaya she proved her talent as a great scholar poet by using a predominant metre for each canto with a change of metre at the end of the canto in most of the cantos out of the twelve. Likewise she employs twenty one metres in her Mahākāvya. She writes the poem Raghunāthābhyudaya in Vīra rasa. This historical poem describes the military achievements of Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjāvur. Alankāras are skillfully employed to illustrate the events. It added a special beauty to her poem. The frequent use of certain uncommon words by Rāmaabhadraṁbā is hard to judge whether it is a merit or demerit of the poet.

At appropriate places the poetical qualities and merits of Tirumalāmbā, Rāmaabhadraṁbā and Gaṅgā Devī are compared in this study.

The author acknowledges her gratefulness to the Chairman and the Department of Sanskrit, Aligarh Muslim University for encouraging her to undertake the present study. It would have not been possible for the author to complete this research work without the encouragement and guidance of Dr. Sreeramula Rajeswara Sarma, Department of Aligarh Muslim University. Dr. Sarma with his deep knowledge and scholarship has taken a keen interest in supervising the research and suggesting the source material from time to time. Though hard pressed for time with his busy schedule of work, he spent his most valuable

time going through the different stages of the draft and making suitable suggestions for necessary commissions and omission. For that the author is ever thankful to him.

The author acknowledges the help she recieved from the staff of Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University in obtaining the necessary books time to time. Dr. Sheik Mastan, Reader in Telugu, Department of Modern Indian Languages, Aligarh Muslim University, has helped the author suggesting and rendering books in Telugu related to the field of research. The author is highly thankful to him. The author offers her heart-felt gratitude to Dr. (Mrs.) Renate Sarma for the encouragement and affectionate treatment she recieved from her. The author is thankful to all her friends and well-wishers and her fellow-research scholars for their co-operation.

The author with great sincerity offers floral tributes to all these scholars who with their scholarship and dedication unearthed and brought to the light of the works of all the three poets.

Last but not the least the author is thankful to all her family members. The author is indebted to her husband Professor M. Subrahmanyam, without whose help and encouragement this thesis would have remained an unfulfilled dream. Further the author acknowledges her thanks to her son Mallikharjun, daughter Annapoorna and nephews Remesh Kumar, Trinath Kiran and Durga Prasad, who rendered every possible help.

Mrs. Mudigonda Bala.

## List of Abbreviations.

|             |     |     |  |
|-------------|-----|-----|--|
| VP.         | ... | ... | ... Tirumalāmbā, <u>Varadāmbikāparinaya</u>  |
| RA.         | ... | ... | ... Rāmaḥadrāmbā,<br><u>Raḡhunāthābhyudaya.</u>  |
| Tripāṭhi... | ... | ... | ... Chavinātha Tripāṭhi,<br><u>Campū kavya kā Ālocanātmaka</u><br><u>evam Aithihāsika Adhyayana.</u> |
| Heras. ...  | ... | ... | ... Henry Heras,<br><u>The Aravidu Dynasty of</u><br><u>Vijayanagara, Vol. I.</u>                    |



## Introduction

Puruṣavad yoṣito 'pi kavībhavēyuh / Saṃskāro hy ātmani  
 samavaiti na strainam pauraṣam vā vibhāgam apekṣate /  
 śrūyante dr̥śyante ca rājaputryo mahāmātraduhitaro  
 gaṇikāḥ kautukibhāryās ca śāstraprahatabuddhayaḥ kavayaś ca /  
 ---Rājasekhara, Kāvyamīmāṃsā , p. 53.

Rājasekhara, the well known poet, dramatist and critic, states that women too can become poets like men and that in his times there were many royal princesses, courtesans etc. who were gifted with poetic skill. The Sanskrit anthologies contain stray verses by women poets from all parts of India, but full texts written by women are very rare. Interestingly enough, the few full texts which are extant were composed by royal princesses and courtesans belonging to Āndhra Deśa. In particular, the first woman poet to write a historical poem was an Āndhra princess, viz. Gaṅgā Devī the queen of Kampana of Vijayanagara. In subsequent times also we come across historical poems written by Āndhra women, such as Tīrumālāmbā, the author of Varadāmbikāparinaya and Rāmabhadraṃbā, the author of the Rāghunāthābhyaudaya.

When men write on historical themes, they usually attempt the biographies of their patrons. For example, Bāṇa wrote the biography of King Harṣavardhana and Bilhaṇa wrote that of Vikramāditya IV. The three women mentioned above, on the other-hand, wrote in glorification of their husbands or lovers, who were kings. Before we discuss these writers, a brief outline of the political developments in Āndhra Deśa may be given here.

After the Śātavāhanas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the Āndhra Deśa was ruled by the Kākatiyas. History reveals that once the empire starts weakening under the weak rulers the vassals becoming strong and try to establish a kingdom of their own independence. The establishment of the Kākatiya kingdom by Gaṇapatiḍeva in tenth century is on the same universal law of history. The Kākatiyas in due course expanded their kingdom to a vast area in south India comprising not only the Āndhra Deśa, but Karnāṭaka, Tamil and Mahārāṣṭra areas also.

The Muslim invasions in the eleventh and twelfth century weakened the Kākatiya empire and many small kingdoms sprang up. The kingdom of Vijayanagara can be called one among them as succeeding the Kākatiyas in the regions of Āndhra and Karnāṭaka. The Vijayanagara kingdom reached its height in a short time during the fourteenth century under Bukkarāya and Kampana II. Later the glory of Vijayanagara rose to the peak during the reign of Kṛṣṇadevarāya of Tuluva dynasty. He was succeeded by his step-brother Acyutadevarāya.

After Acyutadevarāya the Vijayanagara empire became weak. The Governors and the Vassals started raising their heads and started their own independent kingdoms. Notable among them are the Nāyakas who ruled part of erstwhile Vijayanagara empire from their capital city of Tanjāvur in deep South on the banks of Kāveri.

The first extant work in Telugu was composed during the reign of Rājarājanarendra of the Eastren Čālukya dynasty.

Between the tenth and eighteenth centuries, the literary activity among the Telugu speaking people was not confined to the vernacular of Telugu only. The scholars and the poets were great experts in Sanskrit and other South Indian languages. To name a few, Nannaya, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, Tikkana Somayāji, Śrīnātha, Potana, Kṛṣṇadevarāya were well versed in several languages.

After the Cālukyas, the Kākatīyas were great patrons of Telugu and Sanskrit literature. This royal tradition of patronising arts and culture continued under all Telugu kingdoms of Āndhra such as Vijayanagara, Madhura, Tanjāvur and the Reddy kingdoms. The most interesting feature of the literary activity of Āndhra Desa is that women came into the field and contributed a rich treasure of literature both in Sanskrit and Telugu.

The aim of the present study is to analyse the literary works in classical Sanskrit contributed by women poets. The most striking feature of these women poets is that their work is not just a traditional approach of literary activity but is based on historical events.

The women writers discussed in the present study are three poets who were not mere poets, but had a good knowledge of the history of South India. Their writings do not follow the beaten-track and are not based on Purāṇas. They deal with the historical personalities of their contemporary period. Those three writers are Gaṅgā Devī, Tirumalāmbā and Rāmabhadrāmbā. Gaṅgā Devī was the queen of Kampana II of Vijayanagara. In her Madhurāvijaya, she gives the descriptions of Kampana's achievements in expand-

ing the kingdom and stabilising the rule of Vijayanagara kings. Similarly Tirumalāmbā, a courtesan of Acyutadevarāya, claiming herself to be one of the queens of Acyuta, wrote a Campū Kāvya on the marriage of her lover with princess Varadāmbikā. The third poet Rāmabhadraṁbā, also a courtesan like Tirumalāmbā, wrote a Mahākāvya on the achievements of Raghunātha Nāyaka. The most significant aspect of these three great women writers is that they were connected to Vijayanagara empire in its beginning, peak and decay.

The Madhurāvijaya is a great literary contribution depicting the history of the early rulers of Vijayanagara. Tirumalāmbā's Varadāmbikāparinaya is a contribution during the golden period of the empire. Rāmabhadraṁbā composed her equally important historical Mahākāvya Raghunāthābhyudaya during the last phase of the Vijayanagara empire. Thus these three poems form a significant part of the women writing in Sanskrit in Āndhra Desā.

The first poem Madhurāvijaya has been studied by me in my M.Phil/ dissertation entitled "The Madhurāvijaya of Gaṅgā Devī: A Study"<sup>1</sup>. The other two poems will be studied in the present thesis.

It is a well known historical fact that during Kṛṣṇadevarāya's reign (1509-1529 A.D.) the cultural and literary activities reached its heights. Kṛṣṇadevarāya was a great patron of poets and scholars. He was himself a great scholar and in Sanskrit and Telugu languages. His famous Bhuvanavijaya palace was the

---

1. Aligarh Muslim University, 1989.

centre for cultural activities. His court was brightened by the presence of eight great poets known as Aṣṭadiggajas, just the court of Vikramāditya was said to have nine great poets called Navaratnas. Kṛṣṇadevarāya wrote two plays called Jāmbavatīkalyāṇa and Uśāparinaya in Sanskrit. In Telugu his works are Āmuktamālyada, Madālasacaritra, Satyavadhū-Sāntvana, Sakalakathāsārasangraha, Rasamañjari and Jñānacintāmani.<sup>2</sup> Many poets of that time dedicated their works to him.

After his sad demise his stepbrother Acyutadevarāya became the successor of this great kingdom. Like his brother Acyutadevarāya was also a great patron of scholars and poets. He wrote Tālamahodadhi<sup>3</sup> in Sanskrit. His court poet Rājanātha wrote a Mahākāvya called Acyutarāyābhyudaya in twelve cantos praising the victorious campaigns of his patron Acyutadevarāya. Rājanātha also composed Bhāgavata Campū, and these two works were dedicated to Acyutadevarāya. Tirumalāmbā, a courtesan who claims to be the queen of Acyutadevarāya, composed a Campū Kāvya Varadāmbikāparinaya. Mohanāṅgi, daughter of Kṛṣṇadevarāya, wrote Maricīparinaya.

After the historical Tallikota war in 1565 A.D., the Vijayanagara empire fell down and came under the power of the Muslim rulers. Due to the downfall of Āndhra kings, poets

---

2. M. Krishnamacariar. A history of Classical Sanskrit Literature, pp. 218, 219.

3. G. Nagayya. Telugu Sahitya Samiksha, p. 196.

scholars, singers, and artists failed to get desired encouragement and patronage, migrated to mainly to the kingdom of Madhura and Tanjāvur in deep south where the rulers of Telugu origin were in power. So from sixteenth to eighteenth centuries the Nāyaka kings of Madhura, Tanjāvur and Jinji as a continuous tradition patronised scholars and poets upholding arts and culture.

Among the Nāyaka kings of Tanjāvur, Raghunātha Nāyaks and his son Vijayarāghava contributed significantly in nurturing arts and literature. Their service to the cause of Sanskrit and Telugu literature is immense and laudable. Raghunātha himself being a poet and musician, had composed new rāgas which have become part of Karnāṭaka style of Indian music. His literary contribution includes many yakṣagānas and kāvyas both in Sanskrit and Telugu. Like his father, Vijayarāghava Nāyaka was also a great man of letters and contributed to Telugu literature by writing a number of books.

Like Kṛṣṇadevarāya and Acyutadevarāya of Vijayanagara, Raghunātha and his son Vijayarāghava Nāyaka as great patrons of literature and arts, brought their tenure of rule as a golden period of the Tanjāvur Nāyaka kingdom. The most striking and significant aspect of this golden period is that women belonging to different background and categories such as royalty, nobility, courtesans and commoners came forward in the field of literature and arts and proved their worth equal to men if not more than them. It is a period in South Indian literary history where the literary activity of women reached its zenith.

A careful study of the History of South India during the period of Nāyaka kings explains a significant and notable change.

All the cultural activities of Kṛṣṇadevarāya of Tuluva dynasty were performed in the Bhuvanavijaya palace specially constructed for that purpose. Similarly, Raghunātha Nāyaka also constructed Lakṣmivilāsa Bhavana a palace where the cultural activities can be performed. This centre of performance is specially famous for courtesans who were skilled in various creative arts and participated in all the literary and cultural activities.

Since the days of Vijayanagara empire Sanskrit literature started climbing the heights along the Telugu literature with great patronage and encouragement. The list of the poets also includes the kings. The most noteworthy aspect of this period is that women literats from Āndhra Deśa contributed considerably to both Telugu and Sanskrit literature not only writing on the traditional themes of purāṇas and mythology but focussing on the real and contemporary historical themes to which they have a participative and personal knowledge. In this context the Madhurāvijaya of Gaṅgā Devī occupies the first place.<sup>4</sup> Gaṅgā Devī the poet, was from the Kākatiya lineage and the queen of Kampana II, son of King Bukkarāya one of the founders and ruler of Vijayanagara kingdom. This Mahākāvya in Sanskrit was composed by her in fourteenth century. This Mahākāvya, unlike many other, is on the theme of the contemporary historical aspect i.e. the victorious achievements of her husband Kampana II in expanding the frontiers of Vijayanagara kingdom and consolidating the

---

4. See my dissertation" Madhurāvijaya of Gaṅgā Devī: A study."

political rule of Vijayanagara deep into the South India i.e. the Tamil country.

Tirumalāmbā composed her Varadāmbikāparinaya campū in Sanskrit during the sixteenth century. The Varadāmbikāparinaya is the second important contribution on the history of Vijayanagara empire during the peak period of its glory. This poem elaborates the victories of king Narasa or Nṛsiṃha in further strengthening the kingdom in all the four directions of his existing kingdom. The principal theme of the poem is romantic. It narrates the love between prince Acyuta and princess Varadāmbikā and the birth of their son cinavenkaṭāḍri and his coronation as yuvarāja along with his father Acyutadevarāya as the king of Vijayanagara kingdom. Tirumalāmbā claims herself to be the queen of Acyutadevarāya, but history and other poets of the same period reveal that she was a courtesan of Acyutadevarāya.

Raghunāthābhyudaya of Rāmabhadraṁbā is the third important historical poem written by a woman in Sanskrit from Āndhra Deśa. Like, Madhurāvijaya and Varadāmbikāparinaya, Raghunāthābhyudaya also narrates the events of history of South India under the rule of Vijayanagara kingdom ruled by the Nāyaka dynasty from their capital at Tanjāṁur. It depicts the uprising of the vassals and other enemies of the Tanjāṁur kingdom and the conspiracies they made with the Muslim invaders. The poem describes how Raghunātha was successful in suppressing those enemies and bring peace and stability in the region. Poet Rāmabhadraṁbā claims herself as the wife of Raghunātha, though the evidences show that she was one of the courtesans of Raghunātha.



The above three poems describe the various aspects of that society in the subsequent periods. <sup>h</sup>Tough there are similarities in those poems but differences speak about the specialities of each of those poems. The early kings of Vijayanagara as lineage of Kākatīyas were Śivites. Gaṅgā Devī in Madhurāvijaya praises Virūpākṣa of Hampi i.e. Lord Śiva. Whereas Tirumalāmbā's benediction at the end of the campū declares that at that time the Vijayanagara rulers (the Tuluva Dynasty) were the followers of Vaiṣṇava cult of Hinduism and faithful worshipers of Śrī Tirumala Tirupati Venkaṭeśvara. The historical inscriptions denote that Acyutarāya was first coronated at Tirupati with the holy waters and later at Vijayanagara.<sup>5</sup> The very name of Tirumalāmbā tells the faith that the poet has in that god. She tells that by the grace of Lord Venkaṭeśvara Acyutarāya was blessed with a son whom he named as Venkaṭādri. Tirumalāmbā prays Venkaṭeśvara to bestow Acyuta with longevity along his queen Varadāmbikā and son Venkaṭādri.

Poet Rāmabhadraṁbā praises Raghunātha as incarnation of Śrīrāma. Like Tirumalāmbā, she explicitly tells that she is a faithful devotee of Śrī Rāmabhadra. Raghunātha and his son Vijayarāghava were also great devotees of Rāma. Raghunātha composed Andhrarāmāyana and constructed a beautiful palace Rāmasaudha specially for the prayer. This aspect indicates that the Nāyaka kings of Tanjavur were great worshipers of Srirama.

It should be mentioned specially that Raghunātha Nāyaka and his son Vijayarāghava Nāyaka bestowed great encouragement on the courtesans. In their court, courtesans participated equally with

---

5. Rājanātha. Acyutarāyābhyudaya, III, 23, 24, and see also the introduction by A.N. Krishna Aiyangar to Acyutarāyābhyudaya, pp. 14, 22.

other poets and scholars, in all kinds of literary and art competitions and celebrations. Among those precious gems at Raghunātha's time were Rāmabhadraṁbā and Madhuravāṇi, Kṛṣṇājamma, Raṅgājamma, and Chandrarekha were at the time of Vijayarāghava. Muddupālani another poet who composed a Śṛiṅgāra-kāvya 'Rādhikāsvānthana' in Telugu was patronised by the Tanjāvur Nāyaka king Pratāpasimhendramaṇḍi (1736-63 A.D.) belonging to the Mahārāṣṭra Nāyaka dynasty.

Madhuravāṇi was a precious gem of Raghunātha Nāyaka.<sup>6</sup> She translated Āndhrarāmāyana composed by Raghunāthata into Sanskrit. The colophon of her Rāmāyanasāra-kāvya spells out that she was the author of Kumārasambhava and Naisadha. Only a portion of 1400 (fourteen hundred) slokas in 14 cantos depicting upto Sundara kāṇḍa of her Rāmāyanasāra-kāvya is available. At the end of every canto she gives interesting information about herself. Cemakuri Venkaṭakavi, Kūcimānci Timmakavi and Adidamu Sūrakavi who were famous Telugu poets were contemporaries of Madhuravāṇi.<sup>7</sup>

Within a half ghatika (12 minutes) she can compose 100 slokas. Madhuravāṇi can write in six languages. She is a well versed scholar in grammar, śāstras etc. and she declares that Raghunātha Nāyaka honoured her by performing Svarṇābhiṣeka to her.<sup>8</sup> In the history of Sanskrit literature, specially contributed by women poets, Gaṅgā Devī and Madhuravāṇi rank first for the best kāvyas they have composed.

---

6. M. Krishnamachariar. History of Classical Sanskrit Literature, p. 230.

7. Ūtukūri Laksmikānthamma. Āndhra Kavayātrulu, pp. 51, 52.

8. Ibid, pp. 44-52.

In the Nāyaka dynasty of Tanjāṁvur, Vijayarāghava Nāyaka was the last king (1633-1674 A.D.). He was also a great patron of scholars and poets. Many women poets flourished during his time. Among those Kṛṣṇājamma, Raṅgājamma and Candrarekha were said to be great poets and famous courtesans. Like Rāmabhadraṁbā, Kṛṣṇājamma was also a pupil of Cengalva Kālakavi. In his Telugu Sṛṅgāraprabhandha Rājagopālavilāsa<sup>9</sup>, he praises Kṛṣṇājamma's scholarship saying that she has the rare and tremendous ability to compose in any <sup>one</sup> of the 134, 217, 726 Vṛttās. She poses the Samasyā and then composes śloka then translates it into Telugu. It is unfortunate that not a single work of Kṛṣṇājamma is tracable. Raṅgājamma, in her Mannārudāsavilāsa prabandha praises Kṛṣṇājamma as "Sarvagunānīṣṇā".

Raṅgājamma composed many kāvyas, yakṣagāna, drāmas, in Telugu. She declares herself as the wife of Vijayarāghava Nāyaka in her Usāparinaya prabandha. The works of Raṅgājamma are as follows:

1. Rāmāyaṇakathāsaṅgraha.
2. Bhāratākathāsaṅgraha.
3. Bhāgavatakathāsaṅgraha.
4. Mannārudāsavilāsa (Drāma).
5. Mannārudāsavilāsa (yakṣagāna).
6. Usāparinaya prabandha.

Vijayarāghava, pleased by her scholarship, performed Kanakābhiseka for her. Some more courtesans of Vijayarāghava were mentioned in her Mannārudāsavilāsa prabandha, such as Kastūrarāma, Ambujavalli, Śasirekhamma and Mohanamūrtamma.

Raṅgājamma's Usāparinaya is in four cantos. She dedicated it to Vijayarāghava bhūpāla. In her Mannārudāsavilāsa yakṣagāna she uses Sanskrit ślokaś, cūṛṇikaś, paisaci, māgadhī, saurasenī, apabramśa and Tamiḷ. She could compose poetry in eight languages. Her guru Cāṅgaḷva Kālakavi prāises her and Cendrarekha as experts in extempore poetry and in Samasya pūraṇaś. They were regular participants of every literary function at Vijayarāghava's court. She was the contemporary of the great Vaggeyakara Kṣetrayya.

Muddupālani belongs to eighteenth century. She was patronised by the Tanjore Maharāṣṭra Nāyaka king Pratāpa Simhendramouli (1736-63 A.D.). Tirumala Vīrarāghava was her teacher. Her romantic kāvya in Telugu Rādhikāsvāntana is a beautiful mixture of prose and poetry, and was dedicated to Bālakṛṣṇa.

Rādhikāsvāntana is in four cantos. It contains 585 poems along with prose. It has another name as Ilādevīyam. This work reflects the luxurious life of royal persons, army officers and wealthy people of that time. The society, the culture and the life of the people were depicted in her kāvya. In the descriptions, Muddupālani chooses entirely a different way. She decorates her kāvya with Sr.ṅgārārasa. She was a courtesan but by her virtues she became the concubine of King Pratāpasimha. She is praised by later poets as one of the best poets of Āndhra.

These are some of the well known poets of Sanskrit and Telugu literature from Āndhra Deśa. They enriched the literatures of Sanskrit and Telugu by their valuable works. The main reason for this achievement is the encouragement and self-interest in literature and arts by the Great Vijayanagara and Tanjāvur

kingdoms. The peaceful and wealthy society, the identification of their scholarship by the rulers make them to create these great works.

By this study an inference can be drawn to state that education of women in the beginning was limited to the royal palaces, later it was spread to Devadāsīs or Vēśyas. It was limited to these classes only because women from the normal middle class could not get time and leisure for their education or for literary activities. The main reason for this drawback might be the early marriages of the girls, and child-bearing, and the responsibilities of the joint family which was the custom and tradition of the society of those times. Hence, married women from the middle-class neither found time nor flourish in the creative activity of arts and literature the most important aspect of culture.

The wealth and leisure at the disposal of the Devadāsī's gave them an opportunity to acquire scholarship, dexterity and mastery in arts and culture. It should also be noted that their recognition and patronage was dependent on their beauty both physical and intellectual. In case of women of the middle-class there was no necessity for such talent. That is why we do not come across any women artists from this category in those days.

## CHAPTER II.

## TIRUMALĀMBĀ, HER LIFE AND TIME.

The Varadāmbikā-Parinaya is the first Campū in Sanskrit by a woman poet. This poem describes the marriage of King Acyutarāya to Varadāmbikā, the birth of their son Cinavenkatādri, and his instalation as heir apparent. Acyutarāya succeeded the famous Kṛṣṇadevarāya to Vijayanagara kingdom and ruled from 1529 to 1542 A.D.

Not much information is available about the poet Tirumalāmbā either in her Varadāmbikā-Parinaya or outside it. At the end of the campū there is a long colophon. Here Tirumalāmbā speaks elaborately about her intellectual and artistic accomplishments but little about her personal life.

On her personal life she makes only a brief statement by using two adjectives. She says she is the all-in-all of Acyuta's love(premasarvasva) and his close confidante(visvāsabhū).<sup>1</sup> But she does not say that she is Acyutarāya's legally wedded wife (patnī or bhāryā). This point raises some problems about her exact relationship to king Acyutarāya.

One likely possibility is that she was a courtesan(veśyā). She became a concubine of Acyutarāya and enjoyed his love and confidence. As a highly talented woman, she was intellectually close to the king and composed a poem celebrating her lover's legal marriage to the princess Varadāmbikā. For political or other reasons, she actively supported Acyuta's marriage with Varadāmbikā.

---

1. VP, p. 179: rājādhirājācyutarāyasārvabhauma-premasarvasva-  
visvāsabhuvā.

On the other hand, if Tirumalamba was also a legally wedded wife of a noble birth, she would not have so readily described her husband's marriage to another woman, and that woman's son becoming the heir apparent.

In the colophon, while mentioning all her accomplishments, she does not mention her parents, which is the usual custom. This fact also strongly supports that Tirumalāmbā may have been born and brought up as a courtesan.

There is another poem on the life of Acyutarāya's life entitled Acyutarāyābhudaya. This was written by Rājanātha, a court poet of Acyutarāya. This poem, in twelve sargas, describes Acyutarāya's ancestors, his coronation, and his various expeditions. Rājanātha describes Acyutaraya's marriage to Varadāmbikā<sup>2</sup>, but makes no mention of Tirumalāmbā. This fact also supports the view that Tirumalāmbā may not have been Acyutarāya's legally wedded wife, but only his concubine.

Thus all the contemporary evidence suggests that Tirumalāmbā may not have been a legally wedded wife of Acyutarāya.

---

2. Rājanātha. Acyutarāyābhudaya, III. 48:

mahattare mānavaloka śāsitur  
 mano'nukūlā mahiṣipade tadā /  
 kṛtābhiṣekā salagakṣitīśitur  
 varātmajāsīd varḍāmbikā vadhūḥ //

However, about a hundred years later, on cemakūri venkaṭakavi, in his Telugu poem called Vijayavilāsamu says that Tirumalāmbā was Acyutarāya's queen(devī) and that her sister Mūrtimāmbā was married to Cevva.<sup>3</sup> This Cevva was a king of Nāyaka dynasty who ruled Tanjāvur from 1540 to 1550 A.D.<sup>4</sup> and the poet cemakuri venkaṭakavi was the court poet of Raghunāthanāyaka, king of Tanjāvur from 1614 to 1633 A.D.

How to reconcile this with the contemporary evidence? One possible explanation is that at a later stage, i.e. after the composition of the Varadāmbikā-Parinaya by Tirumalāmbā and after the completion of the Acyutarāyābhyudaya by Rājanātha, the king Acyutarāya may have granted Tirumalāmbā the status of a legal wife. In order to raise her social standing still further, he may have married off Tirumalāmbā's sister Mūrtimāmbā to Cevva who belonged to a minor branch of Vijayanagara kingdom. There are many instances of kings raising the status of a veśya to that of a kulastrī. For example, in Mrcchakatika of Śūdraka, the king elevates Vasantasena to a kulastrī.

---

3. Cemakūri Venkaṭakavi. Vijayavilāsamu (in Telugu) at the beginning:

ṭhivin acyutarāyala devī ayina  
 ṭirumalāmbakun anujayai tejarillu  
 mūrtimāmbanu benḍilliyai kīrtivelaya  
 jevvavibhuḍu mahonnataśrīlajelage //

4. Cāgaṇṭi Śeṣayya. Āndhra Kavitarāṅgiṇi (in Telugu), Vol. 12, p. 4.



To sum up, Tirumalāmbā appears to have been born in the family of courtesans and was brought up as one. She had an intense training in all arts, and with her talents she won the heart of Acyutarāya and became his concubine and close confidante. She encouraged the king to marry Varadāmbikā. This marriage was politically important. Varadāmbikā's father was prince Salaṅga and her two brothers were generals in the army. Acyutarāya finally rewarded her by elevating her rank of a queen (devī).

Now about her personal accomplishments, Tirumalāmbā gives an elaborate account in the colophon. She tells that she is well versed in poems, plays, poetics, purāṇas and vedas.<sup>5</sup> She has a remarkable memory and she can repeat things after hearing them but only once.<sup>6</sup> She knows several languages and she can write many scripts.<sup>7</sup> She is beautiful like an incarnation of Goddess of beauty, and excellent musician.<sup>8</sup> She is generous patron of

5,6, VP, Colophon, p. 179:

ekavārākaṇṇanmātra-dṛḍhāvadhārīta-navya-kāvya-nāṭakālāṅkāra-  
purāṇāgama-rahasya-sārasyāṅbandha-samindhānā-svābhāvika-  
pratibhānubhāvayā.

7. Ibid, p. 179: nikilalipi-vilekhana-niyata-vitareṇa-kṛtaḥastā-hastā  
ravindayā.

8. Ibid, p. 179. 18:

virīṇṇa-cañcala-nayanā-nakhāñcala-samudañcita-vipañci-prapañcita  
pañcamamādhurimodāñcana-vikasvara-kantḥasvarayā-vipula-talātala-  
vihāra-vinoda-sākārāvatīrṇa-sataparnāsana-varavarṇinī-mati-  
nirṇāyikayā.

scholars and poets.<sup>9</sup> She always patronised poets and their families.<sup>10</sup> She is deeply religious and caused several sacrifices like Paundarika, Vājapeya, Sarvatomukha performed by brahmins for the well being of the king. She is liberal in her gifts and gave rich endowments to temples and other religious institutions.<sup>11</sup>

Acyutarāya built Viṭṭhala temple at Hampi. Several inscriptions of Acyutarāya are preserved there. One of them describing a gift of Suvarṇameru by Acyuta was composed by Voḍuva Tirumalāmbā in 1533 A.D.<sup>12</sup> As Tirumalamba claims in the colophon of the Campū that she can write skilfully in all scripts, so most probably this Voḍuva Tirumalāmbā is the same as the author of Varadambikā-parinaya. The three verses regarding the king's tulābhāra of pearls at Kāñcīpuram are also composed by her in 1533 A.D.<sup>13</sup>

It is clear that this Campū must have been written during the reign of Acyutarāya (1529-1542 A.D.). The Campū ends with the instalation of cinavenkaṭādrī, the son of Acyutarāya as heir-apparent.

---

9. Ibid, p. 179: nirupādhika-mahopakra-nirmāṇa-dharma-nirmalāhāyayā.

10. Ibid, p. 179: niyata-rakṣita-kavi-kutumbayā.

11. Ibid, p. 180:

nāṇḍeśa-pratiṣṭhitāneka-viracita-vājapeya-paundarika-  
sarvatomukha-mahādhvara-dvijavara-vitīryamāṇasīrviśeṣa-  
paripoṣita-bhāgya-saubhāgyayā.

12. Lakshman Sarup, Introduction to Varadāmbikā-parinaya, p. 11

13. Swāmi Mādhavānanda and Ramesh Chandra Majumdar. (ed)

Great Women of India, p. 335.

There is no clear evidence to show when this event took place. There are some differences between Tirumalāmbā's account and the same in Rajanātha's Acyutarāyābhyudaya. In his poem Rajanātha states that when Acyuta was crowned as an emperor, his son cinavenkaṭādrī was old enough to be made heir-apparent (yuvarāja).<sup>14</sup> This statement does not agree with Tirumalāmbā's campū. Tirumalāmbā states that Acyutarāya was already a king when he married Varadāmbikā. Then cinavenkaṭādrī was born to them, who was latter installed as heir-apparent when he came of age. Therefore the coronation of cinavenkaṭādrī as yuvarāja must have taken place at least 10 or 12 years after the coronation of Acyutarāya as a king in 1529 A.D. Therefore Lkshman Sarup argues that the Campū could not have been written before 1540 A.D. As Acyutarāya reigned upto the year 1542 A.D. and the campū was written during his life time, this campū may have been written between 1540 and 1542 a.D.<sup>15</sup>

However there is not much weight in this argument. It will be shown in the next chapter that Tirumalāmbā twists historical facts and chronology. For example, Acyuta's father Nṛsiṃha or

---

14. Rājanātha, Acyutarāyābhyudaya. III. 52:

anena rājñā cinaven<sup>ka</sup>ṭādrir  
 apy ayojī lakṣmīm yuvarāj<sup>pr</sup>ūrvikām /  
 kṣamāpataurājyaramā sayauvana-  
 Kramā ca kaumāram asāv asūcayat //

15. Lakshman Sarup, Introduction to Varadāmbikā-parinaya, p. 10.

Narasa Nāyaka died in 1503. Thereafter, his two elder sons, Vīranarasimha and Kṛṣṇadevarāya ruled upto 1529. In 1529, on the death of Kṛṣṇadevarāya, Acyuta became the king. However, Tirumalāmbā says that Acyuta became the king immediately after the death of his father.<sup>16</sup> Thus she ignores the rule of not only Vīranarasimha but also of Kṛṣṇadevarāya, who is regarded as one of the greatest kings of India.

Therefore, not much credence should be given to Tirumalāmbā's chronology of events viz, (1) Nṛsimha's death, (2) coronation of Acyuta (3) marriage of Acyuta to Varadāmbikā (4) birth of cinavenkaṭādrī and (5) instalation of cinavenkaṭādrī as yuvarāja.

It is more likely that Acyuta was already married to Varadāmbikā and that they had a son when he became king in 1529 and the cinavenkaṭādrī was installed simultaneously as yuvarāja, as Rājanātha says in his Acyutarāyābhyudaya.

Furthermore, there is inscriptional evidence to show that in 1532 Acyutarāya, Varadāmbikā and cinavenkaṭādrī performed tulāpurusādāne with pearls at Kāncī. This supports Rājanātha's view that Acyuta and his son cinavenkaṭādrī were simultaneously installed as king and yuvarāja in 1529.

Therefore, the Varadāmbikā-parinaya could have been composed any time during the reign of Acyuta from 1529 to 1542. On the other hand, Tirumalāmbā does not describe any military campaign

---

16. VP, p. 92.

of Acyuta, though she devotes about half of the book to the campaign of his father Narasa. This shows that the Varadāmbikā-parinaya was written before Acyuta undertook any major campaigns, that is at the begining of his reign around 1530 A.D.

The Varadāmbikā-parinaya is the only available work written by Tirumalāmbā. In 1924 it was discovered by Prof. Lakshman Sarup, University of P<sup>n</sup>jab, Lahore, in the royal collection of old manuscripts at Tanjore. A Devanāgarī transcript was prepared for him at that time. In May 1932 he published it for the first time in the Oriental College magazine, Lahore. It's first Hindi translation was prepared by Mahamahophyaya Pandit Girīdhara Sarma, principal Sanskrit Collage, Jaipur, and Pandit Purusottama Sarma of the Mayo Chief's Collage, Ajmer, and was included in the Saṃsāra Sāhitya Ratnamāla series, Lahore, in 1932. Prof. Lakshman Sarup brought out his edition of the text from Lahore around 1938, together with a Sanskrit ṭika by Girīdhara Sharma and Haradatta Sharma.

Prof. Suryakānta Śāstri published it in 1970 with an English translation in the Choukhamba Sanskrit series at Banaras.

This Campū contains 174 slokas along with long prose sections. The stanzas are in the vaidarbhi style whereas the prose is in the Gauḍī style. In the following chapters we shall evaluate this text from the view-point of history and that of poetic beauty.

## CHAPTER III

Historical Background of the Varadāmbikā-Parinaya

In the Varadāmbikā-parinaya Tirumalāmbā describes king Acyutarāya's marriage to Varāmbikā, and the installation of their son cinvenkatādri as the heir apparent.

Acyutarāya succeeded the famous Kṛṣṇadevarāya to Vijayanagara kingdom in 1529. The Vijayanagara kingdom was formed in the early fourteenth century and it reached its zenith under Kṛṣṇadevarāya (1509-1529 A.D.), who vastly expanded his kingdom in all directions, gave liberal patronage to scholars and poets of Sanskrit and Telugu, and promoted fine arts. Just as the legendary Vikramāditya's court was adorned by nine poets called Navaratnas, so also his court was graced by eight poets who were known as astadiggajas.

Kṛṣṇadevarāya's father, Nṛsiṃha or Narasa Nāyaka was never the de-jure king of Vijayanagara. He was a mere chieftain, but he helped Śāluva Narasiṃha in usurping the Vijayanagara kingdom from Prudhadevarāya, the last ruler of Sangama dynasty.

Śāluva Narasiṃha coronated himself in 1485 A.D. and ruled upto 1490 A.D. At the time of his death his two sons were too young to rule. So he appointed Narasa Nāyaka as their guardian and regent.

From 1490 to 1503 Narasa Nāyaka ruled the Vijayanagara kingdom, first as the regent of Timma and after his death, as the regent of his brother Immadi Narasiṃha. Though he was only a regent of the two brothers, he was the defacto ruler of Vijayanagara and the founder of the Tuluva dynasty.<sup>1</sup> He had to fight several wars to consolidate the kingdom and expand it in all directions.

" By dint of numerous military campaigns Narasa Nāyaka restored the integrity of the kingdom, and the enemies whom he had conquered during the thirteen years that he governed the empire are enumerated in all the records of his descendants. We learn from them that he not only subdued Chera, Chola and Pāṇḍya and other localities in South India, but also defeated the Gajapati and took Adil Khan a prisoner. These claims had a good foundation."<sup>2</sup>

Narasa Nāyaka had four sons, Vīra-Narasiṃha, Kṛṣṇadevarāya, Raṅga and Acyutarāya. Upon the death of the father in 1490, the eldest son Vīra-Narasiṃha became the regent of Immadi Narasiṃha. By this time Immadi Narasiṃha was old enough to rule the land, but, unfortunate prince was kept imprisoned for some time and ultimately murdered by Vīra-Narasiṃha who then called himself the de jure king. His brief rule of six years from 1493 to 1499 was full of strifes.<sup>3</sup> He was succeeded by Kṛṣṇadevarāya, who ruled for 20 years from 1509 A.D. to 1529 A.D. and established a golden rule.

---

1. R.C.Majumdar(ed), The Delhi Sultanate, pp. 302-306.

2. Ibid, p. 304.

3. Ibid, pp. 306-309

However, there was a bitter rivalry between him and his step-brother Acyuta. Acyuta was kept imprisoned at the fort of Candragiri. In 1529 when Kṛṣṇadevarāya was on his death-bed he proclaimed Acyuta as his successor and released him from the prison. Soon after he died, Acyuta coronated himself at Tirumalai in the presence of Lord Venkaṭeśvara and then moved to Vijayanagara.

The chronicles written under the various rulers do not mention all the unpleasant details of succession. The poems written under Kṛṣṇadevarāya and Acyutarāya and others, describe Narasa Nāyaka as the lawful king and do not mention that he was just a regent. Secondly the poems written by the court poets of Kṛṣṇadevarāya do not mention Acyutarāya and vice-versa.

The Varadāmbikā-parinaya is not free from these faults. It is totally partisan towards Acyutarāya and suppresses all the information which is not favourable to him.

### Tuluva Dynasty

This royal romance commences with a detailed description of the lunar race which starts with the Moon, who was followed by Budha, Purūr̥ṣas, Āyu, Nahuṣa, Yayāti and Turvasu<sup>4</sup>. In course of time Timma was born in this dynasty. His son was Īsvara and his wife was Bukkamāmbā. Their son was Nṛsimha or Narasa Nāyaka the founder of Tuluva dynasty. Here Tirumalāmbā totally ignores all the previous kings of Vijayanagara, belonging to the Sangama and Sāluva dynasties. She writes as though Nṛsimha/ Narasa Nāyaka

---

4. VP. pp. 1-6.



was the first real king, although she makes a brief reference to his father Īśvara and Grand father Timma and his wife Devakī.

This kind of tendency prevails in all the writings produced under this dynasty. For example, the Umamañjeri copper plates of Acyutaraya of the Saka year 1462 ( 12th October 1540 A.D.)<sup>5</sup> also commence with the description of the lunar race from the Moon, his son Budha, his decendants Purūravas, Āyu, Nahuṣa, Yayāti and Turvasu. The inscription then makes brief mention of Timma of Tuluva dynasty, and of his son Īśvara. Then follows a long account of Narasa and his campaigns.

Likewise Kṛṣṇadevarāya's poet lauriate Allasāni Peddana in his Telugu Manucaritramu gives the same account of the lunar race starting with Budha and ending with Kṛṣṇadevarāya's father Nṛsiṃha. He mentions Nṛsiṃha's two wives Tippāmbā and Nāgāmbā, who were the mothers of Vīra-Narasimha and Kṛṣṇadevarāya respectively. But he does not mention Acyuta's mother Obāmbikā<sup>6</sup>. Similarly Nandī Timmana, also a court poet of Kṛṣṇadevarāya, in his Telugu poem Pārijātāpaharaṇamu gives the same account and does not mention Acyuta's mother.<sup>7</sup>

However, Rājanātha Dīndīma, a court poet of Acyutarāya was more impartial. In his Acyutarāyābhyudaya, a Sanskrit poem, he describes the lunar race from the Moon upto Narasimha but mentions three wives of Narasimha, namely Tippāmbā, Nāgāmbā, and

5. Epigraphia Indica, III (1894-95), pp. 147-158.

6. Allasāni Peddana, Manucaritramu, I, 19-31.

7. Nandī Timmana, Pārijātāpaharaṇamu, I. 7-15.

Acyuta's mother Obamāmbā<sup>8</sup>. In fact he ever mentions Kṛṣṇadevarāya and his benign rule<sup>9</sup>. It may be added that in the official inscriptions of Acyutarāya his predecessor is respectfully mentioned. For example, in the Unamāñjiri plates, the reign of Kṛṣṇadevarāya is enlogized in glowing terms.<sup>10</sup>

But Tirumalāmbā, who was the recipient of undivided love of Acyutarāya (prema-sarvasva) is naturally partisan towards him. She ignores the rule of Acyuta's two elder brothers, namely Vira-Narasimha and Kṛṣṇadevarāya, and says that as soon as

---

8. Rājanātha Dīṇḍima, Acyutarāyābhyudaya. I. 52:

tisro nrpasyety abhavann abhiṣṭās  
tippāmbikā tāsu ca nāgamāmbā /  
paṭṭābhiṣiktā patidevatānām  
uttamsabhūṣāmanir obamāmbā //

9. Ibid, III. 18-19:

anantarm kīrtidhurandhare 'dadhāt  
sa kṛṣṇarāyaḥ sakalām vasundharām /  
amuṣya 'śirṇair abhiṣekṣaribhiḥ  
'sasāma vid eṣaṇasaurya-pāvakaḥ //  
  
sa koṇḍavīṭipramukhāni saṅgare  
mahānti durgāni mataṅgjesītuḥ /  
purā grhītvā putupettunūpure  
nyadhād atha stambham asau mahābalaḥ //

10. Epigraphia India, III (1894-95), pp. 152-153, lines 43-63,  
VV, 20-25.

Narasa Nāyaka died, Acyuta became king.<sup>11</sup> Therefore she does not mention Narasa's first two wives. She mentions only Acyuta's mother Ombamāmbā. She says that Ombamāmbā belongs to the solar dynasty and that her father was Rācīrāya and mother Rāmāmbikā.<sup>12</sup> Before Narasa Nāyaka married Ombamāmbā he undertook many military campaigns to which about half of the campū is devoted.

Tirumalāmbā describes these campaigns very elaborately in the form of digvijayayātra. However, as has been stated already this account is based on solid foundation.

11. VP. p. 92:

kālād bahor atha mahīm virhāsahiṣṇum  
 āśvāsyā navyanijaśāśvata-kīrtimūrttyā /  
 nānāguṇaśrvaṇakautukīnām surāṇām  
 nāthēna sakhyam abhajan narasakṣitīśah // 70//

ataḥ param anucintita-nikhila-jana-hita-kṛtyai amātyaiḥ  
 anuniya-samānītaḥ-sprhaṇīya-vinīti-nīti-mukha-mahāniya  
 guṇa-gaṇa-samuccarita-nidhir acyuta-dharaṇīpatiḥ  
 svayamvarā daraṇīm avanīm prdhānagrṇī-padam āniya  
 ātmanā rājanvatīm atānit.

12. Ibid, p. 86:

divasakara-kulottama-sa-rācīrāja-ratnākara-rekhām, śrī  
 rāmāmbikā-garbha-sukti-muktāmaṇim ombamāmbābhidhānam,  
 āniya yathāvidhi dharaṇībhujā paryāṇinayat.

## King Nṛsimha

Tirumalāmbā describes Nṛsimha as the son of Īśvara and Bukkamāmbā. King Nṛsimha was brave and he was untiring in making large gifts of gold. His strong and noble fame was followed by the goddess of Victory. He made the entire earth free from thorns in the form of enemies.<sup>13</sup> Giving all the superior qualities of Nṛsimha she says that Vāsudeva lived in the chamber of his heart which was as profound as the great ocean, Lakṣmī lived in his blooming lotus like lovely eyes, and Sarasvatī stayed at the courtyard of his tongue that was devoted to truth.<sup>14</sup> He was the moving mountain of gold, he was like the wishing tree endowed with consciousness and was like the reincarnation of Cupid.<sup>15</sup> He ruled his kingdom very peacefully. His thoughts were competent to apply the six expedients of the royal polity. He protected the four means of success, with astonishing political wisdom he was ruling over the earth.<sup>16</sup> He, the best among

---

13. VP. 12:

prahlādamānasahito nakharātyudṛṣṭa  
vikrāntir āśramakṛtoruhiranyadānaḥ /  
Yah siṃhaśāhananatanusarajjayaśrīr  
niṣkantakāṃ vasumatīm nikhilām atānīt //

14. Ibid, pp. 15-16:

mahāmbhorāśi-gambhīrāśaya-nivāsi-vāsudevaḥ vikaṇṭhāvinda-  
bandhuvaravilocana-viharadindiraḥ satyānuṣakta-rasanā-  
catvara-vihārīśāradaḥ.

15. Ibid, p.16:

sāraṇīṣṇur iva kāñcanācalaḥ...kalpitacetana iva kalpapādapaḥ  
punarutpannamūrtir iva puṣpasāyakaḥ.

the kings had fully increased his power, he getting the right knowledge through the study of quality, pervaded the three worlds. He made Vidyāpuri to shine by his splendour.<sup>17</sup>

After giving this long description of the king's rule, the poet describes his march of conquest in different directions. At first he conquered the eastern quarter and then he reached the southern quarter; marching along the sea-coast and crossing the country of Tuṇḍīra he came to the Cola country, where a fearsome battle took place between Nṛsiṃha and the Cola King.<sup>18</sup> As soon as the glorious emperor Nṛsiṃha captured the Cola king, he ordered his army to stop further fighting.<sup>19</sup> When king Maruva knew the capture of the Cola king by Nṛsiṃha he fled somewhere to the sea-coast.

16. VP, p. 19:

śāḍguṇya-prayoga-yogyavicārenirāpāya-caturupāya-  
gopāyitari yasmin vismayantītimati paripālayati vasumatīm....

17. Ibid, verse 15:

advaitaśāstrādhigamena samyag  
vidyāmivāsādyā vivṛddhasttavaḥ /  
vidyāpurim viravaraha svadhāmna  
vyadyotata vyāptajagattrayīkhaḥ //

18. Ibid, pp.34-69.

19. Ibid, verse 47:

grāhitamātre yudhi colbhūpe  
krpānidhiḥ śrīnarasimhadevaḥ /  
sa tām nyāsedhat samarāt svasenām  
satām prasādaḥ sahajo na roṣaḥ //

When Nṛsiṃha entered the town of Madhura the ruler of that place presented great wealth to Nṛsiṃha. He then reached Rāmeśvara. There he worshiped God Rāmeśvara and gave innumerable gifts to brāhmanas.<sup>20</sup> Then he turned to the western side to conquer. He sieged the city of Śrīraṅgaṭṭana by constructing a bridge on the Kāverī river.<sup>21</sup> Having captured the king Mahāvīra alive, he forgave him and reinstalled him in his kingdom. He captured Dumakūra and other big forts. He also captured the fort of Matarāṅgi, and then worshiped God Gokarnaṇātha.<sup>22</sup>

20. In this connection Tirumalāmbā says- Varadāmbikā-parinaya :

nānāgrahārair navaratanahāraiḥ  
 suvarnapuspaiḥ api sukti puspaiḥ /  
 abhyarcya ramesvaram adarena  
 tatsannidhau danasatany atānit //

This may be compared with the following stanza from Acyuta's inscription (Epigraphia Indica, III, 1894-95, p. 151 verse 9):

vividha sukṛit oddāme rāmeśvara-pramukhamuhur  
 mudita hr̥daya stāne stāne vyadhattayathāvidhi /  
 budha parivṛto nānādānāni yobhuvishoḍaśa  
 tribhuvana janodgitam spitam yasaḥ punaruktayan //

21. VP, verse 50:

sthire jale setur akāri pūrvam  
 tad adbhutam neti kaverjāyāḥ /  
 setum pravāheṣu guṇābhirāmas  
 citte satām adbhutam apy abadhnāt //

The same information was given in the Unamañārī plates of Acyutarāya, Epigraphia Indica, III, p. 151 verse 10:

He captured the Suratrāṇa at Mānavadurga, but the brave and gracious Nṛsiṃha took pity and released him.<sup>23</sup> The same statement is also made by Rājanātha Diṇḍima in his Acyutarāyābhyudaya.<sup>24</sup> The Suratrāṇa was identified as Yusuf Adil Khan.<sup>25</sup> Conquering all the directions he enters his capital Vidyāpuri with great joy.

The above mentioned conquests of Nṛsiṃha in all the directions are all historically correct when we compare them with inscriptions and the literary works of that time mainly in Sanskrit and in Telugu. Both the Pārijātāpaharaṇa, Acyutarāyābhyudaya say that Nṛsiṃha killed the Cola king but Varadāmbikā-parinaya states that he was captured alive but escaped to an island in the sea.<sup>26</sup>

kāverim āsu baddhvā baṅḡajārayām tām vilamghyaiva śatrum  
jivagrāham grhītvā samiti bhujabalāt tāca rājyam tadiyam /  
kṛtvā śrīraṅgapūrvam tad api nijavase paṭṭanam yo babhāse  
kīrtistambham nikhāya tribhuvanabhavana-stūyamānapadānaḥ //

22. VP, verse 51.

23. Ibid, verse 53:

trāsād drutaṃ mānavadurgamadye  
dhṛtvā suratrāṇavarāhapadam /  
anuñcatānugrahadhiḥ sa dhiro  
grhītam abdhim kila kumbhajanmā //

24. Acyutarāyābhyudaya, I. 29:

mahīpatir mānavanāma durgam  
śakādhināthena samam grhītvā /  
spūṭicakāraśya punarvitirya  
śauryam tathaudāryam avāryacaryam //

Historical evidence shows that Nṛsiṃha died in 1503 whereas Tirumalāmbā says that after his death the ministers coronated Acyuta as the king, i.e. in 1529 A.D. Thus she is silent about the period between 1503 to 1529, when Acyuta's elder brothers Vīra-Narasimha and Kṛṣṇadevarāya were ruling.

Though he was not a lawful king, but a mere regent, there is no doubt that Nṛsiṃha was a great warrior and an able administrator. Therefore he deserves all the paaise which Tirumalāmbā showers on him.

#### Nṛsiṃha's Marriage

Tirumalāmbā first describes Nṛsiṃha's campaign and then mentions his marriage to Ombamāmbā.<sup>27</sup> This gives the impression as if Nṛsiṃha married Ombamāmbā almost at the end of his rule, but that may not be true. Here Tirumalāmbā was taking poetic licence in order to establish the correct mood. First the campaign full of Vīrarasa is depicted. After conquering the entire earth the king left the burden to the ministers and spent his time in literary and musical pursuits. Thus the king now becomes dhīralalita and is in the proper mood for love and marriage.

The royal purohita marries him to Ombamāmbā, daughter of Rōcīrāja and Rāmāmbikā. Indue course a son was born to him,  
<sup>28</sup>  
 who was named Acyuta.

---

25. Delhi Sultanate: History of Medieval Deccan, Vol.I, p. 110.

26. VP, verse 47.

27. Ibid, p. 86.

28. Ibid, p. 87.



## Acyuta

After a brief discription of his childhood and education, Tirumalāmbā narrates that king Nṛsiṃha went to heaven to make friends with Indra and that the minṣters made Acyuta the king.<sup>29</sup> Then she gives the detailed description of Acyuta's body, glorification of Acyuta by bards etc.,<sup>30</sup> but does not mention even a single victory of Acyuta. Then there is a long description of Acyuta falling in love with Varadāmbikā and marrying her. This princess belongs to Solar race. Her father is a 'sakala King', her mother's name is Trapāmbikā and her two brothers are called Tirumala.<sup>31</sup> Rājanātha Diṇḍima gives the name of Varadāmbikā's father as 'salaga kṣetisa'.<sup>32</sup> Then there is a description of Varadāmbikā's pregnancy and the birth of cinavenkaṭādrī.

Tirumalamba ends the campū with the coronation of Venkaṭādrī as yuvarāja and wishing a long and prosperous life to Acyutarāya with Varadāmbikā and their son Venkaṭādrī. Rājanātha in his Acyutarāyābhyudaya however, states that when Acyuta was coronated as the king of Vijayanagara, Varadāmbikā was coronated as paṭṭamahīṣī and cinavenkaṭādrī as yuvarāja.

Here also we should not take Tirumalāmbā's chronology literally. It seems probable that Acyuta was already married when he was released from the prison and declared king. It is also possible that he had already a son and this son was installed as 'yuvarāja' at the same time. The reason is as follows:

---

29. Ibid, verse 87-94.      30. Ibid,      31. Ibid, p. 140.

32. Rajanātha Diṇḍima, Acyutarāyābhyudaya. III. 48.

Varadāmbikā's two brothers, Tirumala senior and Tirumala junior, were influential generals in the army. Because of their influence, Kṛṣṇadevarāya released him from the prison and declared him as his successor. Therefore, the brothers wished to install their sister as the chief queen and the nephew as heir apparent.

The above view is supported by Rājanātha and also by inscriptions. An inscription dated 14 July 1532 says that Acyuta, Varadāmbikā and cinavenkaṭādri all severally got themselves weighed against pearls (muktātulāpuruṣodāna) at Kāñci.<sup>33</sup> This means that within three years of ascending the throne, Acyuta had a wife and son.

For Tirumalāmbā this chronology does not appeal much and she alters the sequence of events. It should be borne in mind that Tirumalāmbā was not writing history from the modern point of view, but a campū kāvya with its own conventions. In a kāvya as in drama, there should be phalaprāpti at the end. The phalaprāpti in Varadāmbikā-parinaya is the installation of cinavenkaṭādri as 'yuvarāja'.

33. Cited by Krishna Aiyangar, introduction to Acyutarāyābhyudaya, pp.26. 27.

muktātulāpuruṣaṁ dānaṁ śrīśarasācyuta-kṣitipatiḥ  
 kāñcīpurābhyantare/ Muktātulāpuruṣadāna vidhau  
 vikīrṇān muktāmaṇin samadhikam varadāmbikāyāḥ /  
 dānāmbupūraparitārayath sametya ratnākaratvam  
 abhajal evaṇākaro 'pi/ Kāñcyāṁ śrīcīkavēṇṭādrimaṇina  
 dāne tulābhārake sapramtyaracite dvijāḥ samabhavann  
 arthitva-bhāraṅkulah /

## Chapter IV.

## State and Society in the Varadāmbikā-Pariṇaya

It has been shown in the previous chapter that Tirumalāmbā takes great liberties with the chronology. It has also been stated that her aim is not that of a modern historian, namely to present a realistic and objective picture of her times. On the contrary, her aim was to write a kāvya, which has its own internal logic and its own conventions.

Therefore one will not find an objective account of the State and Society of her times in the Varadāmbikā-pariṇaya. The treatment here is not descriptive but rather prescriptive. That is to say, Tirumalāmbā presents an idealistic picture of the society and not a realistic one. Even so it will be worthwhile to investigate the ideals which the poetic convention demands.

## A. STATE

## King Nṛsiṃha

Tirumalāmbā starts her campū with a short list of famous kings of the lunar dynasty. Following are the names given by the poet- Moon, Budha, Purūravas, Āyu, Nahuṣa, Yayāti, Turvasu, after long time in the same dynasty Timma, Īsvara and Nṛsiṃha became kings.<sup>1</sup> The same list also given in inscriptions, for example in Acyutarāya's Unamañjari plates.<sup>2</sup> The same list of rulers of Vijayanagara was given by her contemporary and later poets of Telugu and Sanskrit languages, such as Allasāni Peddana (1470-1540 A.D.) in his Telugu Manucaritramu.<sup>3</sup> Nandi Timmana

---

1. VP. pp. 2-8. 2. Epigraphia Indica. 3. (1894-95) pp. 151-152.

3. Allasāni Peddana, Manucaritramu. I. 7-16.

(16 century) in his Telugu Pārijātāpahāraṇamu<sup>4</sup>, Rājanātha Dīṇḍīma (16 century) a court poet of Acyutarāya, in his Sanskrit Acyutarāyābhyudaya<sup>5</sup>. These poets glorified Narasimha, father of Acyutarāya and Kṛṣṇadevarāya. Tīrumalāmbā also praised Nṛsiṃha's heroic deeds in long descriptions. She depicts Nṛsiṃha as a great warrior, and a great hero. He was very generous in giving gifts, and he was untiring in bestowing large gifts of gold.<sup>6</sup>

#### Divineness of Kings.

Sanskrit texts on Rājanīti such as Manudharmasāstra tell us that kings have some divineness. Following this belief, the poet compares Nṛsiṃha to gods like Kṛṣṇa, Śiva, Cupid, Moon, Sun, and also to some great heroes and kings such as Bhīṣma, Janaka, Yudhiṣṭira, Bhīma, Arjuna, Vikramārka, Vīrasena (father of Nala), Prthu etc.<sup>7</sup> Not only this, Lakṣmī resided in his eyes and Sarasvatī on his tongue, and he was devoted to truth.<sup>8</sup>

4. Nandi Timmana, Pārijātāpahāraṇamu. I. 7-16.

5. Rājanātha Dīṇḍīma, Acyutarāyābhyudaya, I. 12-27., 52, 53.

6. VP. verse 12. See chapter III.

7. VP. pp. 16-19.

8. Ibid, pp 15-16:

vikācāravinda-bandhuvar vilocana-viharadindiraḥ  
satyākusakta-rājanā-cāvara-vihārī śāradaḥ.

Showing the divineness of the king, the poet says that the earth is much pleased with his heroism and proclaims herself as his queen.<sup>9</sup> His valour was as bright as the Sun.<sup>10</sup> By his radiance he illuminated his Capital Vidyāpurī.<sup>11</sup>

After the victory over the Cola king, king Nṛsimha a real ocean of compassion, at once stopped his brave army from continuing the fight. It was a natural act for him because the inborn quality of the good is graciousness and not anger.<sup>12</sup>

He is also compassionate and forgiving. He took pity on King Mahāvira and installed him once again as the king of Śrīrāṅgapaṭṭana.<sup>13</sup> He also took pity on Suratrāṇa and released him.<sup>14</sup> He showed great faith in following Hindu dharma. He performed all rituals directed by the royal-priest. He was very generous in giving money and gold to brāhmins as well as to temples.

9. VP. verse 13:

yasya pratīpabikhi-vidruta-kāñcanāśri-  
sāndra-pravṛhasata-candrīkitāḥ payodhiḥ /  
mahyāḥ pradhānamahiṣī-pada-vāvaḍukaḥ  
cāmikaraṅkitam ivāmbaram ababhāse //

10. Ibid, verse 17.

11. Ibid, verse 15:

vidyāpurīm viravāḥ evadhāma  
vyadyotatā vyāptajagatśāntikāḥ //

After his victories over Cola Maruva, Madhura, he visited Rāmeśvaram and worshiped God Rāmeśvara with numerous land grants, 'navaratna' necklaces, large quantities of gold, and also flowers in the form of verses of praise. The brāhmins were pleased by the many valuable gifts given by the king and gave powerful blessings to him.<sup>15</sup>

He worshiped Gokarṇanātha. There he offered numerous gifts such as 'tulāpuruṣa' etc. Praising his generosity, the poet says that he gained a little in the battle yet he gave much in gifts to the brāhmins.<sup>16</sup>

Thus the poet illustrates Nṛsiṃha as an ideal king who upholds dharma, because he has an element of divineness in him.

12. VP. verse 47:

grahītāntre yudhi colabhūpe  
 ṛpādhikṣī śrī narasiṃha-devaḥ /  
 sa tām nyasādhat samarāt suvasenām  
 satām prasāditā sahajōṣaḥ //

13. Ibid, pp. 81, 82.

14. Ibid, verse 53, see chapter III.

15. Ibid, verse 49, see chapter III.

16. Ibid, verse 52:

tene tulāpuruṣādānapurvaṃ  
 tencha nīlādhik dāyajātem /  
 saṃkhyā bhavaṃ yady api śūkyāntalpaḥ  
 sa stūlādhik hi viśīṣṭaḥ //

## War-fare

At that time the Vijayanagara army had three divisions. describing the army of Nṛsiṃha, the poet says that he had slow moving elephants, swift-running horses, and numerous foot-soldiers.<sup>17</sup> The same three fold army was mentioned by Gaṅgādevī in her Madhurāvijaya. In war they used swords, arrows and bows, mallets, discuses and spears.<sup>19</sup> Various kinds of war-drums are mentioned such as bheri, paṭāha, kāhala, mardala, ānaddha, ḍhakkā, muraja, huḍukkā, veṇu, mṛdaṅga, sṛṅga and ḍamaru.<sup>20</sup> The kings of different regions and dynasties had their own emblems and flags. The seal of Vijayanagara kings had the figure of boar (Varāha). In Varadāmbikā-parinaya, Tirumalāmbā does not mention the emblem on the flag. She simply says flags (dhajāḥ).

The poet narrates Nṛsiṃha's conquests on different kingdoms. The war between the Cola king and Nṛsiṃha, siege of raṅgapaṭṭana, capture of forts, capture of Suratrāna and his release were described in a powerful way. In the battle field

17. VP. p. 46:

mandasindhura-javanasaindhava-vividhapādāta-paṅkti /

18. Gaṅgādevī, Madhurāvijaya. IV. 7.

19. VP. 58, 59, 80.

20. Ibid, p. 53.

the two armies used to fight with the respective forces only. Most probably the king mounted on a huge elephant and arrived in the battle field to fight with the enemy. Nṛsiṃha did the same.<sup>21</sup>

For protection against the enemies, the rulers used to build strong forts on hill tops. King Nṛsiṃha captures Dumakūra and other big forts.<sup>22</sup> He also captured Suratrāṇa hiding in the Mānavaḍurga, then released him with pity.<sup>23</sup> Here the poet did not give any information about how they captured those forts, while Gaṅgādevī in her Madhurāvilāsa gives a detailed account about capturing forts.<sup>24</sup> The kings had great skill in sword fighting.

Tirumalāmbā draws the picture of the fearful battle field in a powerful way. The battle between the Cola king and Nṛsiṃha was described in a detailed manner. The poet is successful in presenting every minute incident, the terrible sounds of war-drums, the rising dust of the battlefield, the fearsome

---

21.VP. verse 42:

āruhya svayam api hastinaṃ mahāntaṃ...

22. Ibid, p. 82:

durmaṇḍalī mahāḍurgajālaṃ salīlaṃ agrahit.

23. Ibid, verse 53.

24. Gaṅgādevī, Madhurāvilāsa. IV sarga.



fights between elephants, horses, foot-soldiers etc. in a colourful way. In her scholarly, beautiful prose presentation, the reader forgets all other things and feels a great joy while reading those descriptions. The poet describes the war-field as the sports field of elephants.<sup>25</sup> The emphasis on elephant fights show that Vijayanagara kings had large and powerful army of elephants.<sup>26</sup>

At some places the poet glorifies the enemy's good qualities, and bravery. Entering in the Cola country Nṛsiṃha praises his foe and his kingdom.<sup>27</sup> The Cola king was equal to Nṛsiṃha in heroism. He was like Jalandhara or Rāvaṇa where as Nṛsiṃha was compared to Śiva and Rāma.<sup>28</sup> These two fight a duel with excessive wrath in them, and eager to claim victory, or to secure superiority over the other.<sup>29</sup> The elephants of the two kings, with their bells ringing presented a fine picture of the progress of the fierce fight.<sup>30</sup> The capture of Cola king was compared with the setting of the Sun.<sup>31</sup>

---

25. VP. verse 37:

vipakṣa / akṣo nihitaika pādair  
śirāṃsi dūraṃ caraṇāntareṇa /  
samutkṣipadbhiḥ sarayorāḥ gajendrainḥ  
kṛtāṃ kim kandukakhelarāṇi //

26. Heras, The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara, p.2.

27. VP. verse 18, 19.

28. Ibid, p. 67.

29. Ibid, verse 43.

30. Ibid, verse 44.

31. Ibid, pp. 68, 69.

## B. Society

### Caste system

Tirumalāmbā gives importance only to the upper castes, the brāhmins and ksatriyas. These two classes always played a major role in the society. One of the major duties of the king was to encourage the activities of the brāhmanas, who preserved the Hindu Dharma for a long time, and to protect and honour them. According to Dharmasāstra the performance of sacrifices for themselves and for society is the first duty of a Brāhmaṇa. During the Vijayanagara period even in Acyutarāya's reign Brāhmins got a very respectable position in the society. They were respected by all the other three castes. The Rajāpurohita performs all the royal ceremonies under his guidance. In Varadāmbikā-paripāya the priest himself chooses the wife for Nṛsiṃha. He gathered all the details about the princess Ombamāmbā.<sup>32</sup> The purohita performs the necessary rituals from time to time for the welfare of the king. For example he performs the Puṃsavana, Jātakarma, and nāmakaraṇa etc. at appropriate time.<sup>33</sup> The brāhmins used to give their blessings before the king's departure for military expedition. During Nṛsiṃha's and Acyuta's time the position of the Brāhmins was quite comfortable and peaceful.

Most probably the ruling class always belonged to the kṣatriya caste. So the hero of this campū Acyuta was also a kṣatriya from lunar race. He was depicted as dhīralalita nāyaka.

---

32. VP. p. 86.

33. Ibid, p. 90 verse 67.

As Sṛīdhara Babu says<sup>34</sup>, the support and encouragement of Brāhmins is an important duty of the king. The king took advantage of auspicious and happy occasions, like the birth of a heir-apparent, coronation, the victories over other countries etc. for making gifts, dānas.<sup>35</sup>

Giving a long detailed account of these dānas by king Nṛsiṃha<sup>36</sup> and Acyuta, the poet depicts the Vijayanagara kings as protectors of Hindu-Dharma.

One of the major dānas is called tulāpurusaḍāna. The king sits in one pan of the balance and weighs himself against gold, silver or coins and distributes these among brāhmins. Vijayanagara kings performed this type of dāna frequently.<sup>37</sup> Tirumalāmbā says that Nṛsiṃha performed this dāna. Acyuta also performed many times muktātulāpurusaḍāna, that is he weighed himself against pearls, but these were not mentioned by Tirumalāmbā. Rājanātha in his Acyutarāyābhyaṇḍaya gives a detailed account of these dānas by Acyuta. Inscriptions also describe the gifts.

The poet does not mention any other castes. Yet she introduces ministers, Kañchukis(p.105), bards(p.117), jester (verse 98, 107), purandhri, sairandhri(p.145), maid servants, gardenkeepers(p.154), kṛṣṇāvalabālika(p.26), śālikabālika(p.31), caṭulavaṭu(p.32).

---

34. D.Sridhara Babu, Kingship: State and Religion in South India, p.78.

35. Ibid, p. 78.

36. VP. verse 49, 52 etc. <sup>37</sup> Ibid, verse 52.

### Cities

In Varadāmbikā-parinaya, the poet mentions the Vijayanagara Capital as Vidyāpuri (15, 55 verses). Giving a short description about the capital, the author says Vidyāpuri was encircled by river Tūṅgabhadra. The city was surrounded by beautiful gardens, lakes, and high white palaces. Those palaces have banners with Indra gems, spreading the light all around. Lines of smoke rise up from the lattice-windows of its high palaces (pp. 84, 85). After his victory Nārasiṃha enters his capital.<sup>38</sup>

Tirumalāmbā does not describe other cities. She mentions briefly Madhura and Rāmeśvaram.<sup>39</sup> Śrīraṅgaṭṭaṇa was described as surrounded by the river Kāveri.<sup>40</sup>

### Temples

According to the Varadāmbikā-parinaya, the temples were in flourishing condition at that time. In the description of Tuṇḍiradeśa the poet says ~~the~~ there were thrice daily worships in the temples, and the music accompanying the dances filled the quarters. The gods readily granted the desires of the devotees and eliminate their sins.<sup>41</sup>

38. VP. p. 71:

praviveśa tadānim eva tadyarājadhānim

39. Ibid, p. 71.

40. Ibid, p. 80.

41. Ibid, p. 33:

During his expeditions king Nṛsimha worshiped God Rāmeśvara and adored him with numerous gifts such as land grants, pearl-necklaces, large quantities of gold.<sup>42</sup> He also worships God Gokarna and offered plenty of gifts to brāhmins.

The above two examples show that Vijayanagara kings were all faithful devotees of Hindudharma and gods. They gave a large quantity of gold and lands for the development of temples as endowments.

Lord Venkaṭeśvara of Tirumala is the favourite God of Acyuta. Tirumalāmbā also concludes her campū by invoking his blessings on Acyuta, his queen and son.<sup>43</sup> Yet it is surprising that Tirumalāmbā does not describe this temple in her work.

durikṛta-durita-graha-nāma-grahna saṁsmaraṇa-mātra-  
pratiṣṭābhīṣṭaphala-devatālaya-kālatraya-pravṛttanṛttāmbha-  
jṛumhita-mardala-nidhvāna-paṭu-paṭaha-tūryaravā pūryamāṇa-  
haridantarān.

42. VP. verse 49.

43. Ibid, verse 170:

atyādarādatyuta devarāyam  
vareṇyāśītāṃ varadāmbikāṃ ca /  
śreyonidhānaṃ cinavenkaṭādrim  
śrī venkaṭeśa ścirakālmavyāṇ //

### Women

The study of Varadāmbikā-parinaya brings out much information about the people, society and their culture in the early sixteenth century A.D. Especially interesting is the information about women at that time. The women are said to be beautiful with their lotus-like faces and eyes. They have beautiful red lips and thick black curly hair. They walk gracefully (p.161). They used to wear silk petty-coats and sarees(pp.147, 169). They were skilled in swimming (p.116), music and dance etc.(pp. 143, 147).

The women used to decorate their bodies with jewelled girdles, jewelled anklets(maṇivalaya, pp.157, 160), pear necklaces, bright nose pearls(nāsāmauktika p. 157) etc. These were some of the ornaments worn by the ladies of Tirumalāmbā's time.

### Make up

They used musk paste for fragrance (mṛḡmadālepaparimalakarit p. 156). They decorated their faces with saffron(kuṅkuma-patravallī samullasita mukhārāgabhiḥ p.156). They used to decorate their foreheads with different types of tilakas made with <sup>Camphor</sup>~~saffron~~<sup>44</sup>. Their nails were also shining with radiant brilliance(verse 142). They have long curly hair. They used to beautify their eyes with collyrium.<sup>45</sup> They have beautiful teeth(verse 141). Their luxuriant hair was perfumed with numerous

---

44. VP.p. 160.

45. Ibid, p. 161, 168.

flowers.<sup>46</sup> They used to wear flower garlands. They used jewelled mirrors (maṇidarpaṇa p. 127), they used to perfume the kesara flower juice with camphor powder.<sup>47</sup>

They were experts in swimming, kāmaśāstra, dance, music and dexterous in making beautiful flower garlands (pp. 127, 128). The author elucidates the expertise of Varadāmbikā in playing vīṇa, dance, and tutoring the parrot (p. 143).

Tamālikā, Mādhavikā, Kapālikā, Manjarikā, Līlāvati, Kusumavati etc. were the names of women given by Tirumalamba (pp. 127, 128). It appears that here Tirumalāmbā is following Subandhu. In reality in those days Tirumalāmbā, Obamāmbā, Nāgāmbā, Tippāmbā, Varadāmbikā etc. were the usual names of women in the southern part of India.

Tirumalāmbā does not ignore to write about common people. She narrates that common farmer girls (kṛṣṇīvalabālikā, śālikā bālikā p. 31) used to guard the rice fields, they used to give sweet, cold and fragrant water to the thirsty travellers during summer.

46. VP. p. 164:

vividha kusuma kesara surabhi keśapāsam.

47. Ibid, p. 127.

### Prominent Customs.

Some South Indian customs can be seen in Varadāmbikā-parinaya. To get a suitable good husband they used to practice a vow. So Varadāmbikā also practices the vow, She went to Katyāyanī's temple. Like Pārvati, she worshiped the goddess.<sup>48</sup> In royal families the girls used to worship their tutelary deities.<sup>49</sup>

On special occasions like royal marriages or festivals, people used to decorate the front yards of their houses using pearls for raṅgavalli. Now it became a famous proverb in Āndhradeśa as mutyāla muggulu (mauktika raṅgavallikām) (p. 147). They decorate their houses with festoons of leaves (p.147).

It is still a prevailing custom in South India to bless the young by sprinkling rice mixed with turmeric powder. The same tradition was mentioned by Tirumalāmba also (p. 153).

To worship goddess Gowri the preparation made by the beautiful maidens of Varadāmbikā are like the following (pp. 127, 128):

A festoon was prepared with garlands of tender leaves of tamāla trees. Multy coloured tender flower-garlands were interwoven with fresh lotuses. They prepared beautiful necklaces or Jasmine buds by studding in it the central gem of a red-lotus-bud. The golden altars soiled with floral juice and

---

48.VP. p. 127.

49. Ibid, p. 143.



pollen were cleaned with a broom made of the filaments of the 'sirīṣa tree. The altar was prepared with the pollen of red lotuses and covered with small lotuses. They used to besnrear the jewelled mirrors with a mass of the pollen lotuses. The keśara flower juice was perfumed by powdered c<sup>a</sup>mphor..

In hot summer days the bright eyed girls with their lotus like hands were seated in the beautiful water-sheds, made of thick roots of khus and allevated the travellers thirst by offering them cold water with the strong fragrance of cardamaom, clove, sffron, camphor and musk.

## Chapter V.

On The Structure And History Of Campū .

Tirumalāmbā's poem Varadāmbikāparinaya belongs to a class of poetry called Campū, as stated by Tirumalāmbā herself at the end of the poem.<sup>1</sup> Daṇḍin is the first writer on Sanskrit poetics, to define Campū as a combination of prose and verse, gadyapadya-mayī kācit campūr ity abhidhiyate.<sup>2</sup> Ofcourse a mixture of prose and verse existed from the very earliest times, starting from the Veda. In Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda's Taittriya, Maitrāyaṇī and Kathasaṃhitā one can see a mixture of prose and verse. In the Atharvaveda also nearly one sixth part is in prose. Again such mixture occurs in Upākhyānas of Brahmanas, for example, the Harīścandraopākhyāna in the 33rd <sup>o</sup> āyaya of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.<sup>3</sup>

Such mixture of prose and verse can be found in the Upaniṣads,<sup>4</sup> in Buddhist writings such as Jātakas, Avadānasātakas, and in

1. VP. Colephen, p. 180:

Tirumalāmbayā nirmitaṃ varadāmbikāparinayannāma  
campūkāvyaṃ ācandratārārkam abhivardhatām.

2. Kāvyaḍarsa, I. 31. (See also Sāhityaḍarpaṇa. VI. 336.):

gadyapadyamayāṃ kāvyam campūr ity abhidhiyate.

For the history of campū, see Chavinātha Tripathī, Campū Kāvya  
kā ālocanātmaka evam aitihasika adhyayan. ( henceforth abbreviated  
as Tripathī.)

3. Tripathī, p. 57.

4. Ibid, p. 59.

Āryasūri's Jātakamāla of the 3rd century A.D.,<sup>5</sup> and finally in didactic works like Pañcatantra and Hitopadeśa. This mixed style appears also in inscriptions like Rudradāman's Girnar inscription (ca 150 A.D.) and Samudragupta's Prayāgaprasasti (ca 350 A.D.)

However, there is a fundamental difference between a mere mixture of prose and verse on the one hand and the campū kāvya on the other. In vedic ākhyānas prose sentences<sup>ten</sup> are just connecting links between more important verses. In pāli Jātakas and in fables, verse supplies the moral maxim or functions as a summary. Thus in these writings, as also in drāma the verse is reserved " for an important idea, a poetic description, an impressive speech, a pointed moral or a sentimental outburst<sup>6</sup>."

But in a campū no such distinction takes place, here both prose and verse are equally important, and have approximately the same proportion. Secondly, the prose used in campū is often highly ornate, full of long compounds and double meanings, like the prose in Subandhu's Vasavadatta and Bāṇa's Kādambarī.

In fact, campū seems to be an offshoot of the kathā. Oral recitation of Kathā, entirely in prose become monotonous after some time. Therefore verses were added inbetween to provide variety to the oral recitation.

---

5. Ibid, p. 65.

6. S.K. De, History of Sanskrit Literature, pp. 433-434.

Trivikrama, the author of the Nalacampū, which is the earliest available campū, sees close relation between the kathā and campū. At the beginning of his Nalacampū he gives definitions of both kathā and campū. According to him Kathā is:

sanagatā sursārthena ranyā merucirāśrayā/  
nandanedyānamālaeva svasthair ālekyatām kathā<sup>7</sup> //

There is no doubt that here he is imitating Bāṇa's definition of kathā.<sup>8</sup> As regards campū Trivikrama states that:

udāttanāyakepetā guṇavaś vṛttamuktakā /  
campūś ca hārayastis ca kena kriyate hr̥dī<sup>9</sup> //

Accordingly, the Campū should have a hero of the udatta type and it should contain verses (vṛtta) and prose sentences (muktaka) both endowed with guṇas like ojas, mādhyā, prasāda, etc. Just as a necklace consists of round (vṛtta) pearls (muktaka) strung together (guṇavat) and a prominent (udatta) central gem (nāyaka). These two stanzas of Trivikrama are not exactly definitions but rather descriptions and through these descriptions, he suggests that Campū is closely related to Kathā.

In this context, Siegfried Lienhard says that "only when the need was felt to find a new and more difficult form of kāvya, did poetry to develop a new style—Campū in which both poetry and prose combined to produce a harmonic and balanced whole."<sup>10</sup>

7. Nalacampū, I. 24.

8. Kadambarī, Kathāmukha, 8, 9.

9. Nalacampū, śloka I. 25.

10. A History of Indian Literature, Vol. III.I; A History of Classical Poetry, p. 266.

Scholars are of the opinion that the campū form developed in South India, where there is a long and continuous tradition of oral recitation of Sanskrit poems. Even today popular presentations like Harikathā in Āndhra Pradesh, Yaksagāna in Āndhra Pradesh and Karnāṭaka, Kūṭṭu in Kerala contain oral recitations in prose and verse.<sup>11</sup>

Moreover, the word campū itself appears to be a Dravidian word, meaning that which combines, i.e. it combines prose and verse.

Some scholars tried to define campū, Haridāsa Bhaṭṭācārya explains:

camatkṛtya punāti sahrdayān vismitikṛtya  
prasādayati iti campūḥ //<sup>12</sup>

According to him campū means, it must be camatkāra pradhāna and enjoyed by sahrdayas.

Some scholars differ. They say that the word "campū" is not a Sanskrit word but a Dravidian word. In Kannada and Tulu, 'sampu' means mixture and beautiful. Campū is another form of sampu. The beautiful mixture of prose and verse most probably became famous as Campū in Sanskrit.<sup>13</sup>

11. K.Kunjumani Rāja, The Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Literature, p. 236; A.K.Warder, Indian Kāvya Literature, Vol. I. pp. 185-187.

12. Mudiganti Gopal Reddy and Sujata Reddy, Sanskrit Sahitya Caritra(Telugu), p. 724.

13. Ibid, p. 724.

In fact in all the four Dravidian languages there are many compositions containing a mixture of prose and verse. A brief survey of such poems is presented below;

It is generally accepted that Ilango Adigal's Śilappādikāram (2nd century A.D.) is the first Tamil work written in campū style.<sup>14</sup> The first Telugu work, viz. Nannaya's translation of the Mahābhārata (11th century) though in verse contains occasional prose passages called gadyas. But between the fifteenth century and the seventeenth century a large number of regular campū kāvya were written in Telugu based on purāṇic themes. To name some:

- |                          |                |  |
|--------------------------|----------------|--|
| 1. Bhairava kavi         | 1410-1460 A.D. | <u>Śrī Rāṅgamahātmyamu</u>                           |
| 2. Annaya                | 1428-1506 A.D. | <u>Venkaṭācalamahātmyamu</u>                         |
| 3. Pillamarri pinavīrana | 1460-1500 A.D. | <u>Śakuntalāparināyamu</u>                           |
| 4. Śrī Kṛṣṇadevarāya     | 1509-1530 A.D. | <u>Madālasācaritra,</u><br><u>Satyavadhūpreḍanam</u> |
| 5. Mādayagāri Mallana    | 1570- A.D.     | <u>Aṣṭamahīṣimahātmyam</u>                           |
| 6. Kumāra Dhūrjaṭi       | 1550-1580 A.D. | <u>Indumatī vivāhamu</u>                             |
| 7. Tenāli Annaya         | 1580 A.D.      | <u>Sudakṣiṇāparināyamu</u> <sup>15</sup>             |

These works are nearer to the structure of Sanskrit campū kāvya. In Kannada also, there are nearly eleven poets who contributed campūkāvya between 10th and 12th centuries.

---

14. Tripathi, p. 82.

15. Ibid, p. 95.

However, in Malayālam one finds the largest number of campū kāvyas. Out of 245 campū kāvyas known to exist 200 campūs were written in only Malayālam. This clearly shows the fondness of campū kāvyas among Malayālees. From the 10th century to the 15th century many campū kāvyas were written in this region. These were written in the Manipravāla style. Unniyācchicaritam, Unni<sup>ciru</sup>tevicaritam, and Unniyāti-caritam are the famous and the early campū kāvyas of Malayālam language.<sup>16</sup>

It has already been stated that Daṇḍin was the first writer to define campū. Daṇḍin who flourished in South India in the 7th century must be familiar with some writings in campū style either in Sanskrit or in Tamil.

The most beautiful definition of campū was given by Bhoja in his Campū Rāmāyana. He says that the mixture of prose and verse is pleasing like vocal music accompanied by instrumental music.

gadyānudbādhā-raśmīśrita-padyasūktiḥ  
hr̥dyāpi vādyakalayā kaliteva bhāti /  
tasmād dadhātu kavimārgajusām sukhāya  
campūprabam dharacanām rasana mādiyā //<sup>17</sup>

In defining campū Hemacandra states that it should be divided into āṅkas or ucchvāsā.

gadya padyamayā sāṅkā so cchvāsā kavī gumphitā /  
ukti-pratyukti-viśkṇbha-sūnyā campūr udāhṛtā //<sup>18</sup>

16. K. Bhāskaran Nāyar, Malayāla Sāhityā Itihāsa, p. 14.

17. Reddy, p. 721.

18. Ibid, p. 725, Kavyānusāsan 8/9.

With the help of all these definitions on campū we can say that in campū kāvyā there must be an alternating chain of prose and verse. It must be divided into parts called āṅka, uchvāsa, āśvāsa, ullāsa, kāṇḍa, tarāṅga, sarga, vilāsa, laṃbaka, kallola, manoratha, bindu, pariccheda.<sup>19</sup> However, there are some campūs which are not divided into parts.

The plot of the campū may be chosen from purāṇas, or it can be about historical kings, or patrons or religious leaders or any pilgrimages, wedding of gods, etc. However, the actual story is normally small which is interspersed by innumerable descriptions as in the Mahākāvyas.

As in the Mahākāvyas, the campū poets also choose vīra, śṛṅgāra, śānta rasas as the predominant rasas. They also use the descriptions of cities, mountains, seasons, evening, flower plucking, etc. They concentrate more on descriptions than story. If we study carefully we can see the influence of Bhāravi and Śrīharṣa on their verses and the influence of Subandhu, Bāṇa and Dandī's prose style in their prose. Campū poets mostly follow Vaidarbhī rīti in their verses and pāñcālī and gauḍī rīti in their prose portions. Its style is very elaborate and artificial.

The first available Sanskrit campū is Trivikramabhaṭṭa's Nalacampū (915 A.D.). He also composed the Nausari inscription of Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indra III in 915 A.D.<sup>20</sup> The Nalacampū is in

---

19. Ibid, p. 726.

20. S.N.Dasgupta. History of Sanskrit Literature, p.435.



seven uchvāsas. He also wrote Madālasa campū. Trivikrama's beautiful descriptions about South India and the beautiful banks of Godāvarī clearly show that he was from South India.

The other writer known to us is Somaprabhasūri (10th century A.D.), who wrote Yasastilaka campū. He was a famous digmbara jain poet. He was a court poet of Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa, Yasastilakacampū is in eight āśvāsas.

Haricandra (10th century), also a Jaina, wrote the Jivandhara campū in eleven 'lambhakas'. It was the story of a Jaina muni Jivandhara. Haricandra was the author of Dharma-sarmābhyaṅga also.<sup>21</sup> This Jivandhara campū is based on Guṇabhadra's Uttara purāṇa.

Poet Sodḍhala (11 century) wrote Udayasundarikathā in campū style. He was a court poet of Cālukya Vatsrāja<sup>22</sup> of Lāṭadesa.

Bhoja, king of Dhāra and the author of innumerable books, wrote the Rāmāyana campū. He wrote only upto Sundarakāṇḍa. later it was completed by Lakṣmaṇasūri, most probably in the 16th century. Bhārata campū Ṭilaka was also written by him.<sup>23</sup>

Abhinava Kālidāsa wrote Bhāgavata campū (most probably 15th century). In 15th century his student Kavi Kunjara wrote Rājasekhara caritra. Rājasekhara was the son of Praudhadevarāya, king of Vijayanagara (1446-1455 A.D.).

21. Ibid, p. 437.

23. Tripathi. p.108.

22. Reddy, p. 735.

Rājanātha Diṇḍima, a court poet of Acyutarāya, and author of Acyutarābhyudaya wrote also the Bhāgavata-campū.<sup>24</sup> Cidambara kavi, a court poet of Vijayanagara king Venkaṭarāya (q586-1640) wrote Bhāgavata-campū in three stabakas.

Like the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata and Bhāgavata, the purāṇas became sources for creating campūs. Some of these are as follows: Keśavabhaṭṭa, son of Nārāyaṇa, wrote the Nṛsimha campū in six stavakas in 1684 A.D.<sup>25</sup> Daivajñasūrya (1541 A.D.) <sup>also</sup> wrote Nṛsimha campū in five ucchvāsas.<sup>26</sup> Śeṣakṛṣṇa (16th century) wrote Pārijātaharana-campū by the order of king Narottama of Benaras.<sup>27</sup>

Nilakanṭha Dikṣita (1637 A.D.) wrote Nilakanṭhaviṇaya campū in five āśvāsas. He was the court poet of Tirumala Nāyaka, king of Madhura.

Venkaṭādhvari (1637 A.D.) was a contemporary and friend of Nilakanṭha Dikṣita. He composed four campū kāvyas.

1. Varadābhyudaya-campū, 2. Uttara-campū, 3. Śrīnivāsa-campū, and 4. Viśvagunādarśa-campū. Among these four, the last one became very famous because it differs from other campūs. It is a pleasant satirical conversation between two Gandharvas, Viśvāvasu and Kṛṣṇa, who take a bird's-eye-view of various countries from their aerial car.

---

24. Reddy, p. 746. 25. Ibid, p. 751. 26. Ibid, p. 747.

27. Tripathi, p. 151.

Samaraapuṅgava Dīkṣita (16th century) composed Tīrthayātrā-prabandha-campū in nine āśvāsas, it describes various places of pilgrimage in South and North India. He also wrote Ananda-campū in eight āśvāsas on the devotees of Śaiva cult.

Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (1560-1666 A.D.), famous poet and scholar of Kerala, composed many campū kāvyas such as:

1. Pāñcālīsvayamvara-campū
2. Svāhāsudhākara-campū
3. Mastyāvatāra-campū
4. Rājasūya prabandha-campū
5. Koṭiviraha-campū
6. Nṛgamokṣa-campū.<sup>28</sup>

Kūcimañci Timmakavi (1778-1828 A.D.) wrote in Sanskrit Sujanamanahkumudacandrikā. He was a great poet in Telugu ~~language~~ language also. He was a court poet of Nīṭādrirāya of Pīṭhāpuram.

These are some of the 246 campūs listed by Chavīnātha Tripathī in his scholarly book Campū kāvyā kā Alocanātmaka evam aitihāsika Adhyayan (p. 272). He classifies them into 12 categories on the basis of their sources.

- |    |                       |     |
|----|-----------------------|-----|
| 1. | Based on Rāmāyaṇa ... | 36. |
| 2. | Māhābhārata....       | 27  |
| 3. | Bhāgavata.....        | 45  |
| 4. | Śivapurāṇa....        | 18  |
| 5. | Other purāṇas...      | 23  |
| 6. | Jaina Purāṇas         | 6   |

---

28. Reddy, p. 748.

|                           |    |
|---------------------------|----|
| 7. Historical themes..... | 48 |
| 8. Yātrā prabandhas.....  | 10 |
| 9. Stānika purāṇas.....   | 25 |
| 10. Imaginary.....        | 05 |
| 11. Philosophical.....    | 02 |
| 12. Miscilleneous.....    | 03 |

29

It is noteworthy that majority of these campūs were composed in South India during 16-18th centuries, especially at the court of Vijayanagara kingdom, at Tanjore of Nayaka kings and in Kerala. Also several campūs were written in regional languages in South India. Compared with this, the contribution of North India is rather small. The few examples are as follow:

The Reva king Viśvanāthasiṃha himself composed two campūs. Other kings Virabhadradeva of Revā, Vīrasimhadeva of Orachā, Cetasiṃha of Benaras also encouraged scholars to write campū kāvya.<sup>30</sup>

Of all these campūs Tirumalāmbā's Varadāmbikā-parinaya has a special place. It is perhaps the only campū kāvya written by a woman. The hero of this campū was no distant person but her own lover and king Acyuta (1525-1542 A.D.). Therefore she presents history from a woman's point of view.

It is relatively a small campū, not divided into any sections. The prose is interspersed with 174 well crafted verses. In the following chapter the literary excellences of this campū will be discussed.

---

29. Tripāthi, p. 246.

30. Ibid, p. 275.

## Chapter VI.

## Literary Evaluation of the Varadāmbikā-Parinaya

Unlike Gaṅgā Devī, another woman poet from the Vijayanagara empire, who begins her poem Madhurāvijaya with invocation praise of good poets and censure of bad poets, and more importantly praśastis of several previous poets,<sup>1</sup> Tirumalāmbā begins her Varadāmbikā-parinaya directly with the story without any preliminaries. She describes the lunar dynasty of Acyuta, starting with the Moon himself. This can be called Vastunirdeśa type of maṅgalācaraṇa. Significantly enough the very first letter she uses is 'a', said to be an auspicious letter.

## Contents of the Poem

In this campū the poet gives various description. She starts her historical and romantic campū with a detailed description of the lunar dynasty to which the hero of her poem king Acyutarāya belongs. The dynasty commences with the Moon God, followed by Budha, Pururvas, Āyus, Nahuṣa, Yayāti and Turvasu. In this race was born Timma, his son Īśvara, and grand son Nṛsiṃha. The poet gave more importance to king Nṛsiṃha (father of the hero Acyutarāya), his kingdom and to his rule. The march of conquest by Nṛsiṃha contains the description of Tuṇḍiradeśa, the Cola country, the beautiful and the minute description of the river Kāveri, the Cola king, his preparation and march for the battle, the description of warriors, the sound of kettle-drums, the dust raised by the armies, the battle field, the arms of warriors, the battle,

---

1 M. Bala, The Madhurāvijaya of Gaṅgā Devī: A Study. (dissertation)

Nṛsiṃha's attack, and victory over Cola king, description of the ocean and the Rāmeśvara bridge, worship of God Rāmeśvara, seige of Rāṅgapattana, capture of various forts, capture and release of Suratṛāṇa, description of the Capital Vidyāpurī etc.

After this digvijayayātra, Nṛsiṃha marries the princess Ombamāmbā, who gives birth to Acyuta. Then follows a description of Acyuta's physical beauty and his education. After the death of his father, he is proclaimed the king. Then comes the main theme, viz, Acyuta meeting Varadāmbikā, their mutual love and marriage.

In course of time Varadāmbikā gives birth to cinavenkaṭādrī. After a brief description of his childhood, the poem concludes with his installation of as yuvarāja. About half of the poem is devoted to the heroic deeds of Nṛsiṃha, the father of the hero Acyuta. In the second half is depicted Acyuta's marriage and the installation of his son as Yuvarāja.

#### Language Style and Metres

Tirumalāmbā wrote this kāvya in the form of a campū. In a campū, prose and verse be harmoniously blended together; neither of which can have predominance. The verses are composed in pāñcālī style and the prose portion follows the Gaudī Riti.

Tirumalāmbā displays all her scholarship and skill in using a large number of metres in her poem. In 174 verses she uses 25 types of metres. They are Ārya, Anuṣṭup, Indravajrā,

Upendravajrā, Upajāti, Rathodhata, Śālinī, Svāgata,  
 Dr̥ṭavilambita, Aupacchandāsikā, Puṣpitāgra, Vamsastha, Kalaham̐sa,  
 Maṇubhāṣiṇī, Vasantatīlakā, Praharṣiṇī, Malinī, Prthvī, Mandā-  
 krānta, Narkutaka, Śikharīṇī, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Sragdharā,  
 Viyoginī, and Harīṇīpluta. This display of a large variety  
 of metres shows the author's mastery over Sanskrit prosody.

The prose is modelled on the prose of Bāṇa and Subandhu.  
 It is full of long and rolling compounds, with artificial and  
 elaborate descriptions. In this work the poet exhibits a great  
 mastery over vocabulary, using innumerable synonyms for each  
 word. Her style bears the character of Ojoguna. Her prose  
 consists of long compounds. According to Lakshman Sarup, the  
Varadāmbikā-pariṇaya contains the longest compound in Sanskrit  
 language, which is as follows:

nirantarāndhakārīta-digantara-kandaladamanda-sudhārasabindu-  
 sāndratara-ghanāghana-vṛnda-sandehakara-sāṇḍamāna-makaranda  
 bindu-bandhuratara-mākanda-taru-kula-talpa-kalpa-mṛdula-  
 siktājāla-jaṭila-mūla-talamaruvaka-miladalaghu-laghu-laya-  
 kalitaramaṇīya-pāṇīya-śālikā-bālikā-karāravinda-galantikā-  
 galadela-lavaṅga-pātala-ghanasāra-kastūrikātisaurabha-  
 medura-laghutara-madhura-śītalatara-saliladhārā-nir̥karīṣṇu-  
 tadīya-<sup>vi</sup>malavilocana-mayūkha-rekhāpasārīta-pipāsāyāsa-  
 pathika-lokān.<sup>2</sup>

This compound is made up of more than sixty words. However,  
 her prose does not become overpowering with such artificial  
 compounds, because it is frequently interwoven with fine verses.

Occasionally, her prose is also simple and lucid as, for example,

mānasa-sarevara-sadr<sup>1</sup>śair  
vimala-rasāvadhūta sudhāsāraiḥ....<sup>3</sup>

The Varadāmbikā-parinaya can be divided into two major parts. The first part of this campū deals with the life of king Nṛsiṃha and based on historical events. Here the poet very skilfully prepares the ground to present the hero Acyuta as dhīralalitanāyaka in the second part. Dhanañjaya, in his Daśarūpaka defines a dhīralalitanāyaka<sup>4</sup> thus a dhīralalita should always lead a quite life with a tender nature, skilled and interested in all kalās.

Being a very good scholar and well versed in all 'śāstras, poetics etc. Tirumalāmbā followed the above mentioned rule to depict her hero as a dhīralalita.

Some scholars consider it a serious defect that Tirumalāmbā devotes almost half of the book to narrate the campaigns of Acyuta's father Nṛsiṃha. But, perhaps Tirumalāmbā's aim is to show that Acyuta had a peaceful reign, after all the enemies have been conquered by his father.<sup>5</sup>

3. Ibid, p. 32.

4. Dhanañjaya, Daśarūpaka, II.3:

niścinto dhīralalitaḥ kalāsaktah sukṣi mṛduḥ.

5. VP.verse, 57:

niskantakikṛtya nṛpo dharitrīm  
amātyavaryeṣv adhiropya rājyam /  
sāhitya-sāngitamukhaiḥ prasāṅgair  
nināya kalam niyataprasannaḥ //



Thus the ground was prepared for Dhīralalitanāyaka, Acyuta. Throughout the campū, king Acyuta is described as a tender person with lovable nature. The detailed description of his body tells the extraordinary beauty of the hero. For Tirumalāmbā thus her beloved Acyuta is a dhīralalita, whereas Rājanātha Dīṇḍīma in his historical mahākāvya Acyutarāyābhyudaya depicts him as a dhīredāṭṭa.

### Descriptions

As in the mahākāvyas, Tirumalāmbā also gave more importance to various kinds of descriptions than to the story. These include descriptions of the towns like Vidyāpurī, Śrīraṅgapattana, the beautiful description of ocean near Rāmeśvara, forts like Mahādurga, Matarāṅga, Mānavadurga etc., gardens, river Kāveri, countries like Tuṇḍīra, Cola, etc., marriages of the two kings Nṛsiṃha and Acyuta, Nṛsiṃha's battles, sending messages and also such events where the hero's good fortune is depicted.

She shows all her skill as a female writer, throughout her work. We can see her feminine charm flowing throughout her work as a sweet, mild, fresh, fragrance of scented flowers. Some of her beautiful descriptions are as follows. She presents the eye-catching picture of the evening, the night gradually becoming dark and of the rising moon. The tender and the feminine touch can be observed for example, in verse 155.

Chāyā pravāsacalitena divākareṇa  
sākaṃ svayaṃ ca purataḥ purataḥ sametya /  
prācīgrhaṃ prativivṛtya yayau viṣṭā  
madhye pathaṃ sthitavateva dr̥ḥopagūḍhā //

Comparing the shadow with a virtuous woman, and the Sun with her husband going on a long journey, she says: In the morning the shadow accompanies the Sun for some time walking in his front; then in the middle of the path, (i.e. at noon) she could not be seen for she was closely embraced by Sun in bidding fare-well, then in the afternoon she turned back and went to her eastern home.

In another description of the evening, the poet compares the evening Sun with a lotus in the rainy season.

asrasan dalavad ātapakhaṇḍaḥ  
kesarā iva karās' ca viśīrṇaḥ /  
karnikeva samalakṣyata bimbam  
prā-vṛḍambujacater ahimāṁsah //°

Having lost his brilliance and the rays, the Sun in the evening was looking like the penicil of a lotus flower, from which the petals and filaments have fallen off on a rainy day. In another verse she picturises the rising moon and the countless stars thus:

velātipātena payahpayodhim  
jyotsnāsamudraḥ sutarāṁ vijitya /  
apūpuraj jaitraśśāṅkaśaṅkham  
prāptaś' ca tārāghanapuspavṛṣṭim //7

The ocean of moonlight defeated the ocean of milk and blew a conchshell of moon and rained flowers of stars.

---

6. VP. verse. 157.

7. Ibid, verse, 162.

But the most remarkable aspect of Varadāmbikā-parinaya is the description of Acyuta's physical beauty.<sup>8</sup> In Sanskrit literature, there are many descriptions of feminine beauty, but of male beauty there are only three stotras by Śaṅkarācārya, 1. Viṣṇupādādi-keśānta-varnana, 2. Śiva-pādādi-keśānta-varnana, 3. Śiva-keśādi-pādānta-varnana, which in the form of stotras addressed to gods, describe their feet, thighs, waist, navel, chest, shoulders, neck, mouth, eyes, forehead, face and hair. These were all composed by a man about a man.<sup>9</sup> But the description of Acyuta is a rare description because in the vast Sanskrit literature description of a man by a woman are rare. It is an important contribution to Sanskrit literature.

Here Tirumalāmbā describes Acyuta from the feet upwards, using much fertile imaginations. Giving a new idea to his broad chest she says that his broad chest had expanded as if to indicate that there is enough room in his heart for the free movement of admirable qualities such as intelligence, deep knowledge, compassion, love, noble-mindedness and multitude of all the finearts.<sup>10</sup> Describing the beauty of his face,

8. V.P. pp. 93-105.

9. Ibid, Introduction p. 29.

10. Ibid, p. 96, in prose.

sakala-kalā-kalāpa-cāturya-gāmbhīrya-karuṇā-rasaudārya-  
śauryārāddhana-vitaranādi-sprhaṇīya-guṇa-gaṇānām-asmbādhā-  
saṃcaranasya hr̥daye ' vakāśaṃ prastāvayitum iva vistāram  
agāt vaksastatam.

she says that a punishment for the sin of possessing ambition to compete with his face, the moon was covered with black spots, and the lotus was split into thousand parts. Here the poet skilfully relates the division of the lotus petals and the black spots of the moon to the ambition of competing with Acyuta's beautiful face.<sup>11</sup>

About his eyes, specially the three colours, red, white and black, the poet gives a new imagery. She says that natural and radiating beauty is like an ocean. His two eyes were assuming as it were the beauty of the Sonā (the red) the Gaṅges (the white) and the Yamuna (the black) falling in that fathomless ocean of beauty.<sup>12</sup>

Like Gaṅgā Devī,<sup>13</sup> Tirumalāmbā also states that Acyuta's forehead shone with a circle of hair between the eyebrows (ūrṇa).<sup>14</sup>

11. VP. verse 75:

anavadyata dāṇanopamāśā-  
 duritenaiva śasīmāśiviliptaḥ /  
 kamalaṃ ca sahasradhā vibhinnam  
 kathayet sāmyakatham budhaḥ katham vā //

12. Ibid, p. 101, prose

atyanta-gambhīra-kānti-pārāvāra-kṛtāvātāraṇa sonanada-  
 bhāgīrthi-taraṇikumārikā-cāturīm ūrikurvāṇam-lecanayugam.

13. Madhurāvijayam, II. 30.

14. VP. p. 103.

Praising his sharp mind and quick grasp of all knowledge, she employs a beautiful simile, and says that the prince acquired all the sciences and the finearts so easily just as the magnet attracts the iron needle.<sup>15</sup> Acyutadevarāya was praised as a meeting place of music and literature.<sup>16</sup> The goddess of learning Sarasvati lives in his mouth.<sup>17</sup>

In other descriptions also she displays her tender and natural feminine touch. Describing the victory and captivity of the Cola king by Nṛsimha, the fleeing of the enemy army was depicted in a very natural way. They were scattered like water drops trembling on a lotus-leaf when it was shaken by a fierce wind. Here Nrsimha's victory and his heroism was compared with fierce wind(pracandavāta), and the fleeing enemy army was as scattering water drops trembling on a lotus-leaf(padmapatra-pariplavāmbhaḥ-kaṇkā-prakārah).<sup>18</sup>

15. Ibid, verse 68:

dhīr asya dhīrasya gurūpaḍiṣṭā  
vidyāḥ samastāḥ sakalāḥ kalāś ca /  
adhārayad yatnam apāsyā sadyaḥ  
sūcīr ayaskāntasālākikeva //

16. Ibid, p. 105.

17. Ibid, verse, 172.

18. Ibid, verse 46:

tasmin kṣaṇe tasya camūsamūhas  
tatrāsa kutrāpi padaṃ na labhva /  
pracandavātāhata-padam-patra-  
pariplavāmbhaḥ-kaṇikā-prakārah //

The poet depicts the pleasure of married life in 'Nature' as follows:

" the mango trees manifest their happy married life by showing their affection to their creeper wives, who with their fingers of fresh leaves wake up the bee-babies placed on the breasts of clusters of flowers."<sup>19</sup> Here the poet depicts mango tree as the husband, creeper as the wife, their fresh leaves as fingers, bees as babies, and clusters of flowers as breasts. It touches the heart of the reader. Here the tender feminine feeling lends beauty to the description of "Nature".

By the description of water-sports, the poet delineates the beauty of the queen Varadāmbikā. Tirumalāmbā compares the sportive queen Varadāmbikā with the lightning and the water with the clouds. The plunging of the queen in water looks just like a lightning in the clouds. Indirectly, the poet lays stress on the queen's beauty and her skill in swimming.<sup>20</sup>

19. VP. verse, 102:

gucchastanāropita-cañcarika-  
kumārajagratkisalāṅgulibhiḥ /  
latāvadhūbhir lalitā rasālā  
gadanti ramaṇaṁ grhamedhi dharmam //

20. Ibid, verse, 152:

muhūḥ sarevāriṣu kelilolā  
nimaḥjanonmajjanam ācaranti /  
balāhakāntaḥ paridr̥ṣyamānā  
sauḍāminīvājani cañcalākṣi //

## Rasas

The main rasa of the Varadāmbikā-parinaya is Śrīṅgararasa. Other rasas were also presented with dexterity as subordenate rasas. In the first half of the campū Vīrarasa is predominant, whereas in the second half Śrīṅgararasa gets prominence. She depicts subordinate rasas also for Vīrarasa, such as bhībatsa and bhayānaka at appropriate places. For Śrīṅgararasa flower-plucking, water-sports, spring season, evening, rising of the moon, were described as uddīpana. These rasas were used at appropriate places.

To depict Vīrarasa, Tirumalāmbā introduces king Nṛsiṃha and his heroic deeds in the beginning of the campū. For his heroism she gives beautiful examples. In the following verse she says that in the fire of his majesty (pratāpa) the mountain of gold (kāñcanādri) melted and became hundreds of streams. With the coming of these golden streams, the ocean shone like the gold-embroidered saree of the earth, who proclaimed herself as his chief queen:

yasya pratāpaśikhī-vāruta-kāñcanādri  
sāndra-pravāha-śata-candrakitaḥ payodhiḥ  
mahyāḥ pradhānamahiṣipadāvāvadūkaḥ  
cāmīkarāṅkitam ivāmbaram ābabhāse //<sup>21</sup>

Here the poet glorifies his pratāpa that it can melt mountain of gold also. Seeing his bravery, the earth herself became his chief queen.

---

21. Ibid, verse 13.

At another place, describing the arrival of Nṛsiṃha in the battle field on the back of his war elephant, the poet says that seeing the anger in his eyes, his army felt encouraged and started fighting very bravely. He took a glittering sword in his hand and drove the enemy.

āruhya svayam api hastinaṃ <sup>hā</sup>mantam  
 sannaddhaḥ sapadi sa eṣa rājasimhaḥ /  
 hastāgrasphuradasir abhyagād arātīn  
 āśvāsya svabalam amarṣayogamātrāt // <sup>22</sup>

The fight between King Nṛsiṃha and the Cola king is replete with bhībhasta and bhayānaka. Here Tirumalāmbā compares the battle field with pleasure pond (kelīsaraha) in which the limbs of the warriors were like lotus stalks and plantain trees; the elephants entered into the battle-field-pond and tore the arms of the warriors as if they were lotus stalks and their shanks as if they were stems of plantain trees.<sup>23</sup> Or the elephants caught the soldiers by the feet and whirled and threw them quickly while they vomitted large quantities of blood.<sup>24</sup>

Elsewhere, Tirumalāmbā appears to echo Gāṅgā Devī,<sup>25</sup> when she says that the lordly elephant threw up a horse into the air and killed it in the air with its tusks. Just as a coconut

---

22. Ibid, verse. 42.

23. Ibid, p. 64

samāgrā-kelīsarahaḥ praviśya mṛṇāla-kāṇḍānīva bāhudaṁḍān  
 unmūlayantaḥ ghana taroru-kāṇḍai rambhāstambha-sambhāvanam  
 uttambhayantaḥ.

24. VP. verse 38.

25. Madhurāvijaya, IX.9, VP.verse 89.



is easily broken with an axe , the elephant also breaks the horse very easily with its tusks.<sup>26</sup>

In the delineation of the Sṛṅgāraraśa Tirumalāmbā uses beautiful similes. Describing the first sight of king Acyuta and princess Varadāmbikā at Katyāyanī temple, the poet sees them both as parts of the nature. The king was neither able to stare at Varadāmbikā continuously nor was he able to divert his eyes away from her. His eyes, says the poet, was like a bee constantly hovering around rows of fresh lotuses.<sup>27</sup> Her description of their love in separation (viraha) is very poignant. She says that Varadāmbikā missed the glance of Acyutarāya which looked like the messengers of Cupid and were full of love, bright and cool.<sup>28</sup>

---

26. VP. verse 39:

vetandene vāham ekaṃ karāgrād  
vikṣipyābhād vyomni dantena bhindan/  
vidyann ūrdhvaṃ vibhramenaiva vīro  
vegokṣiptaṃ nālkeram kuṭhārya //

27. VP. verse 105:

api vikṣitum vapur anksitum puraḥ  
parimektum akṣamatayā kṣamāpateḥ /  
bharamarīva nūtanapayojavidhikāsv  
atanīṣṭa drṣṭir asakṛt gatāgatam //

28. Ibid, verse 106:

vilasadalasacārair vismayasmera tārair  
praṇayarasaḡabhīraiḥ prāntavistārasārair /  
varatanur avadātair vañcitāsīt suśītaiḥ

Varadāmbikā feels sharp pain in her heart and neglects all her works, thinking always about him. This is brought out in a beautiful sentence where the poet uses the pronoun 'saḥ' in all seven cases.

" sa eva mama prāṇasama iti, sa eva gāyanti tena saha rahasi riraṃsamānā, tasmai viṛāṇitahrdayā, tasmā, eva jīvitum icchantī, tasya dāsyam eva ajasram ākāṅkṣanti, tasmin eva pratīṣṭitapranayā." <sup>29</sup>

She thinks that "He(saḥ) alone is dear to her like her life; she is singing of him(tam); she desires to enjoy with him(tena) privately; she had given her heart unto him(tasmai); she longs to derive her existence from him (tasmāt); she aspires to be in his(tasya) service always; and fixes her affection on him (tasmin)."

This sentence suggests, though this multiple use of 'saḥ', her total devotion towards Acyutarāya.

#### ALĀṆKĀRAS

Tirumalāmbā decorates her campū with Arthālāṅkāras and śabdālāṅkāras; It is no exaggeration to say that in the Varadāmbikā-parinaya every single sentence and verse contains a special effect. Following are some examples to illustrate her skill in the use of Alāṅkāras.

Upamā:-

The figure of speech called upamā occurs when common qualities are established between two things, but at the same time maintaining their distinctness.<sup>30</sup>

29. VP. p. 143.

30. Kāvya-prakāśa.X.125: Sādharmyam upamā bhede.

Tirumalāmbā uses this figure of speech often in her campū. In the following verse the poet describes the auspicious birth of cinavenkaṭāḍri, Varadāmbikā, gave birth to him just as the eastern quarter brings forth the Sun, or the milky ocean produces the Kaustubha gem. Here she compares cinavenkaṭāḍri to the Sun and the Kaustubha gem(verse 167):

amśumālinam iva ādimā diśā  
 dūgḍhasindhulaharīva kaustubham /  
 vāsare varamuhūrtasālīni  
 prāsaviṣṭa varadāmbikā sutam //

Śliṣṭopamā:

More often, the poet employs śliṣṭopamā in the prose passages. In śliṣṭopamā the adjectives have two meanings, one applicable to the upameya and the other applicable to the upamāna. Describing king Nṛsiṃha, the poet says(pp.17-18):

kanakācala iva kalpitavidhura-vipradakṣiṇaḥ, śaurir iva  
 sadānava-jayedyamaḥ, saṅ kara iva samunnatarājatācala  
 sthitaḥ, nidāgḥasamaya iva nityasamagrāryamahitaḥ.....

He(Nṛsiṃha) gave sacrificial gifts to the learned brāhmins. (kalita-vidhura-vipra-dakṣiṇaḥ) just as the Sumeru mountain (kanakācala) makes the moon and the Sun circumbulate it (kalpita-vidhu-ravi-pradkṣiṇaḥ). He is ever intent on winning fresh victories(sadā-nava-jayedyamaḥ) just as Śrī Kṛṣṇa was intent on defeating demons(sa-dānava-jayedyamaḥ). Nṛsiṃha was firmly established in paramount sovereignty(samunnata-rājatā-acala-stithaḥ). Like Siva, who resides on the high silver mountain(samunnata-rajataacala-stithaḥ). He was always esteemed by all the noblemen(nitya-samagra-arya-mahitaḥ) like the hot season, which is always suited to the fiercely glowing Sun (nitya-samagra-aryama-hitaḥ).

Rūpaka:-

In order to indicate extreme likeness between Upamā and Upameya, when they are represented as non-different, the upameya not being denied, the figure is Rūpaka.<sup>31</sup>

Tirumalāmbā uses rūpaka quite frequently. The high poetic quality of Tirumalāmbā can be seen in ver 158:

aravind-bandhu-kuruvinda-pidhāne  
capalena bālasasina-vyapanite /  
ghuṣṇam viyanmaghavanīlakarapḍad  
galitaṁ yathā ghanam adṛsyata saṁshya //

Here, the poet is describing the Sunset. The sky is a casket made of sapphire, the Sun is a lid made of ruby. When the young moon, the fickle child, removed the Sun-lid, from the sky-casket, out came the twilight resembling the saffron powder.

Utprekṣā:-

When the thing under description is imagined to be identical with a thing which is not under description but similar to it, the figure is Utprekṣā.<sup>32</sup>

In the following verse Tirumalāmbā beautifully uses Utprekṣā. Acyuta's feet are like the back of tortoises. Giving a charming reason for this likeness she says that, in order to wash away as it were, the disgrace earned by the Lord of their race (Viṣṇu Kūrmāvatāra) when he had fallen below the three worlds, two tortoises transformed themselves in to upper part of Acyuta's feet and obtained fame(verse-71):

---

31. Kāvya-prakāśa.X. 139: tad rūpakam abhede ya upamānopameyay.

32. Ibid, X. 137: Sambhāvanam athoprekṣā samena yat .



Parisamkhyā:-

Parisamkhyā occurs when there is an affirmative statement with an implied exception of a thing similar to but other than the object mentioned.<sup>34</sup> This alaṅkāra is also based on śleṣa and Tirumalāmbā uses it very frequently. Glorifying Nṛsiṃha's virtues and his rule, she says(pp.20-21):

mitradveṣaḥ kumudinīṣu mūrchanā parivādinīṣu kārkaśyam  
karikaresu.....

There was dislike for the Sun(mitra-dveṣaḥ) in the case of water lillies but there was no hostility to friends(mitra-dveṣaḥ) among his subjects. There was regulated rise and fall of notes (mūrchanā) among the people. There was roughness only in elephant trunks(kārkaśyam) but no harshness among the people.

Vyājastuti:-

When an apparent censure implies praise or when an apparent praise is actually a censure, the figure of speech is vyājastuti.<sup>35</sup>

There is a fine example of this figure in verse 93:

sarasi viharasi tvam śātravā vārdhimadhye  
tvam upavanasaranyām te 'tighore vanānte /  
kṛtakagiritate tvam kiñca te vindhyāśaile  
katham ariṣu viṣṇaṁ kathyatām acyutenāra //

34. Ibid, X. ~~182~~ 185,

kincit prṣṭāna aprṣṭa vā kathitam yat prakalpate/  
tādṛg anyavyapehāya parisamkhyā tu sa smṛta //

35. Kvyaparakāśa, X. 169.

vyajastutir mukhe mīndā stutir vā rūdhir anyathā.

in praise of Acyuta the bard's say: " if you sport in a lake your enemies choose the ocean, if you stroll on a garden path they roam in a terrible forest; and if you climb on an artificial mountain they climb the Vindhya mountains. O King Acyuta how are your enemies to be defamed when they achieve greater things than you.

Though apparently this verse seems to speak of greater achievements on the part of the enemies of Acyuta, the implied meaning is that Acyuta drove them away from their kingdom and therefore they roam in the forests. Thus this poem indirectly praises the valour of Acyuta.

Anuprāsa:-

Anuprāsa(alliteration) consists in the same consonents being repeated, even though the vowels may be different.<sup>36</sup>

Tirumalāmbā's prose is full of Anuprāsa, for example, in

viṣṇuśara-vijaya-ketu-vaijayantām iva visphurantīm.  
(p.129), the frequent repetition of consonents va lends a special charm. Similarly in

śrīṅgāra-sindhu-kandalitām iva śiṁṣanta-mayūkha-rekhām  
(p. 129),

consonents sa, ma, and kha are repeated. Most striking is the following example where the jingle of the golden bells of the royal elephants can be heard(verse 45):

Ghaṇa-ghaṇa-nikvaṇat-kanaka-ghaṇaṇam.

---

36. Ibid, IX. 104. varṇasāmyam anuprāśah .

Yamaka:-

Repetition of a group of letters in the same order but with a different meaning constitutes Yamaka.<sup>37</sup> which occurs in verse 52:

tene tulā<sup>2</sup>prasa<sup>2</sup>dānapūrvam  
teneha nānavidhādāmajūtam....

Here the letters 'tene' are repeated twice, but with different meaning in each case. In the first line it means 'performed' and in the second line 'tene' is part of teneha (by him, here). These are a few examples to show the skill with which Tirumalaamba employs figures of speech in her work.

This account may be concluded with one more example of the Upamā, employed to describe the bliss of King Ayana for a the wife of queen Gabamāmbā:

dugdhāmburāsīlahanā<sup>1</sup>va cupārabhānam  
artham navānam anagatā<sup>2</sup> bhavati<sup>3</sup> avasthā /  
pratyakṣamulhasya yamā<sup>4</sup> pratyakṣam<sup>5</sup> bhava<sup>6</sup>  
prāṇā<sup>7</sup> bhāgyanā<sup>8</sup>va<sup>9</sup> o<sup>10</sup>va<sup>11</sup> o<sup>12</sup>va<sup>13</sup> o<sup>14</sup>va<sup>15</sup> o<sup>16</sup>va<sup>17</sup> o<sup>18</sup>va<sup>19</sup> o<sup>20</sup>va<sup>21</sup> o<sup>22</sup>va<sup>23</sup> o<sup>24</sup>va<sup>25</sup> o<sup>26</sup>va<sup>27</sup> o<sup>28</sup>va<sup>29</sup> o<sup>30</sup>va<sup>31</sup> o<sup>32</sup>va<sup>33</sup> o<sup>34</sup>va<sup>35</sup> o<sup>36</sup>va<sup>37</sup> o<sup>38</sup>va<sup>39</sup> o<sup>40</sup>va<sup>41</sup> o<sup>42</sup>va<sup>43</sup> o<sup>44</sup>va<sup>45</sup> o<sup>46</sup>va<sup>47</sup> o<sup>48</sup>va<sup>49</sup> o<sup>50</sup>va<sup>51</sup> o<sup>52</sup>va<sup>53</sup> o<sup>54</sup>va<sup>55</sup> o<sup>56</sup>va<sup>57</sup> o<sup>58</sup>va<sup>59</sup> o<sup>60</sup>va<sup>61</sup> o<sup>62</sup>va<sup>63</sup> o<sup>64</sup>va<sup>65</sup> o<sup>66</sup>va<sup>67</sup> o<sup>68</sup>va<sup>69</sup> o<sup>70</sup>va<sup>71</sup> o<sup>72</sup>va<sup>73</sup> o<sup>74</sup>va<sup>75</sup> o<sup>76</sup>va<sup>77</sup> o<sup>78</sup>va<sup>79</sup> o<sup>80</sup>va<sup>81</sup> o<sup>82</sup>va<sup>83</sup> o<sup>84</sup>va<sup>85</sup> o<sup>86</sup>va<sup>87</sup> o<sup>88</sup>va<sup>89</sup> o<sup>90</sup>va<sup>91</sup> o<sup>92</sup>va<sup>93</sup> o<sup>94</sup>va<sup>95</sup> o<sup>96</sup>va<sup>97</sup> o<sup>98</sup>va<sup>99</sup> o<sup>100</sup>va<sup>101</sup> o<sup>102</sup>va<sup>103</sup> o<sup>104</sup>va<sup>105</sup> o<sup>106</sup>va<sup>107</sup> o<sup>108</sup>va<sup>109</sup> o<sup>110</sup>va<sup>111</sup> o<sup>112</sup>va<sup>113</sup> o<sup>114</sup>va<sup>115</sup> o<sup>116</sup>va<sup>117</sup> o<sup>118</sup>va<sup>119</sup> o<sup>120</sup>va<sup>121</sup> o<sup>122</sup>va<sup>123</sup> o<sup>124</sup>va<sup>125</sup> o<sup>126</sup>va<sup>127</sup> o<sup>128</sup>va<sup>129</sup> o<sup>130</sup>va<sup>131</sup> o<sup>132</sup>va<sup>133</sup> o<sup>134</sup>va<sup>135</sup> o<sup>136</sup>va<sup>137</sup> o<sup>138</sup>va<sup>139</sup> o<sup>140</sup>va<sup>141</sup> o<sup>142</sup>va<sup>143</sup> o<sup>144</sup>va<sup>145</sup> o<sup>146</sup>va<sup>147</sup> o<sup>148</sup>va<sup>149</sup> o<sup>150</sup>va<sup>151</sup> o<sup>152</sup>va<sup>153</sup> o<sup>154</sup>va<sup>155</sup> o<sup>156</sup>va<sup>157</sup> o<sup>158</sup>va<sup>159</sup> o<sup>160</sup>va<sup>161</sup> o<sup>162</sup>va<sup>163</sup> o<sup>164</sup>va<sup>165</sup> o<sup>166</sup>va<sup>167</sup> o<sup>168</sup>va<sup>169</sup> o<sup>170</sup>va<sup>171</sup> o<sup>172</sup>va<sup>173</sup> o<sup>174</sup>va<sup>175</sup> o<sup>176</sup>va<sup>177</sup> o<sup>178</sup>va<sup>179</sup> o<sup>180</sup>va<sup>181</sup> o<sup>182</sup>va<sup>183</sup> o<sup>184</sup>va<sup>185</sup> o<sup>186</sup>va<sup>187</sup> o<sup>188</sup>va<sup>189</sup> o<sup>190</sup>va<sup>191</sup> o<sup>192</sup>va<sup>193</sup> o<sup>194</sup>va<sup>195</sup> o<sup>196</sup>va<sup>197</sup> o<sup>198</sup>va<sup>199</sup> o<sup>200</sup>va<sup>201</sup> o<sup>202</sup>va<sup>203</sup> o<sup>204</sup>va<sup>205</sup> o<sup>206</sup>va<sup>207</sup> o<sup>208</sup>va<sup>209</sup> o<sup>210</sup>va<sup>211</sup> o<sup>212</sup>va<sup>213</sup> o<sup>214</sup>va<sup>215</sup> o<sup>216</sup>va<sup>217</sup> o<sup>218</sup>va<sup>219</sup> o<sup>220</sup>va<sup>221</sup> o<sup>222</sup>va<sup>223</sup> o<sup>224</sup>va<sup>225</sup> o<sup>226</sup>va<sup>227</sup> o<sup>228</sup>va<sup>229</sup> o<sup>230</sup>va<sup>231</sup> o<sup>232</sup>va<sup>233</sup> o<sup>234</sup>va<sup>235</sup> o<sup>236</sup>va<sup>237</sup> o<sup>238</sup>va<sup>239</sup> o<sup>240</sup>va<sup>241</sup> o<sup>242</sup>va<sup>243</sup> o<sup>244</sup>va<sup>245</sup> o<sup>246</sup>va<sup>247</sup> o<sup>248</sup>va<sup>249</sup> o<sup>250</sup>va<sup>251</sup> o<sup>252</sup>va<sup>253</sup> o<sup>254</sup>va<sup>255</sup> o<sup>256</sup>va<sup>257</sup> o<sup>258</sup>va<sup>259</sup> o<sup>260</sup>va<sup>261</sup> o<sup>262</sup>va<sup>263</sup> o<sup>264</sup>va<sup>265</sup> o<sup>266</sup>va<sup>267</sup> o<sup>268</sup>va<sup>269</sup> o<sup>270</sup>va<sup>271</sup> o<sup>272</sup>va<sup>273</sup> o<sup>274</sup>va<sup>275</sup> o<sup>276</sup>va<sup>277</sup> o<sup>278</sup>va<sup>279</sup> o<sup>280</sup>va<sup>281</sup> o<sup>282</sup>va<sup>283</sup> o<sup>284</sup>va<sup>285</sup> o<sup>286</sup>va<sup>287</sup> o<sup>288</sup>va<sup>289</sup> o<sup>290</sup>va<sup>291</sup> o<sup>292</sup>va<sup>293</sup> o<sup>294</sup>va<sup>295</sup> o<sup>296</sup>va<sup>297</sup> o<sup>298</sup>va<sup>299</sup> o<sup>300</sup>va<sup>301</sup> o<sup>302</sup>va<sup>303</sup> o<sup>304</sup>va<sup>305</sup> o<sup>306</sup>va<sup>307</sup> o<sup>308</sup>va<sup>309</sup> o<sup>310</sup>va<sup>311</sup> o<sup>312</sup>va<sup>313</sup> o<sup>314</sup>va<sup>315</sup> o<sup>316</sup>va<sup>317</sup> o<sup>318</sup>va<sup>319</sup> o<sup>320</sup>va<sup>321</sup> o<sup>322</sup>va<sup>323</sup> o<sup>324</sup>va<sup>325</sup> o<sup>326</sup>va<sup>327</sup> o<sup>328</sup>va<sup>329</sup> o<sup>330</sup>va<sup>331</sup> o<sup>332</sup>va<sup>333</sup> o<sup>334</sup>va<sup>335</sup> o<sup>336</sup>va<sup>337</sup> o<sup>338</sup>va<sup>339</sup> o<sup>340</sup>va<sup>341</sup> o<sup>342</sup>va<sup>343</sup> o<sup>344</sup>va<sup>345</sup> o<sup>346</sup>va<sup>347</sup> o<sup>348</sup>va<sup>349</sup> o<sup>350</sup>va<sup>351</sup> o<sup>352</sup>va<sup>353</sup> o<sup>354</sup>va<sup>355</sup> o<sup>356</sup>va<sup>357</sup> o<sup>358</sup>va<sup>359</sup> o<sup>360</sup>va<sup>361</sup> o<sup>362</sup>va<sup>363</sup> o<sup>364</sup>va<sup>365</sup> o<sup>366</sup>va<sup>367</sup> o<sup>368</sup>va<sup>369</sup> o<sup>370</sup>va<sup>371</sup> o<sup>372</sup>va<sup>373</sup> o<sup>374</sup>va<sup>375</sup> o<sup>376</sup>va<sup>377</sup> o<sup>378</sup>va<sup>379</sup> o<sup>380</sup>va<sup>381</sup> o<sup>382</sup>va<sup>383</sup> o<sup>384</sup>va<sup>385</sup> o<sup>386</sup>va<sup>387</sup> o<sup>388</sup>va<sup>389</sup> o<sup>390</sup>va<sup>391</sup> o<sup>392</sup>va<sup>393</sup> o<sup>394</sup>va<sup>395</sup> o<sup>396</sup>va<sup>397</sup> o<sup>398</sup>va<sup>399</sup> o<sup>400</sup>va<sup>401</sup> o<sup>402</sup>va<sup>403</sup> o<sup>404</sup>va<sup>405</sup> o<sup>406</sup>va<sup>407</sup> o<sup>408</sup>va<sup>409</sup> o<sup>410</sup>va<sup>411</sup> o<sup>412</sup>va<sup>413</sup> o<sup>414</sup>va<sup>415</sup> o<sup>416</sup>va<sup>417</sup> o<sup>418</sup>va<sup>419</sup> o<sup>420</sup>va<sup>421</sup> o<sup>422</sup>va<sup>423</sup> o<sup>424</sup>va<sup>425</sup> o<sup>426</sup>va<sup>427</sup> o<sup>428</sup>va<sup>429</sup> o<sup>430</sup>va<sup>431</sup> o<sup>432</sup>va<sup>433</sup> o<sup>434</sup>va<sup>435</sup> o<sup>436</sup>va<sup>437</sup> o<sup>438</sup>va<sup>439</sup> o<sup>440</sup>va<sup>441</sup> o<sup>442</sup>va<sup>443</sup> o<sup>444</sup>va<sup>445</sup> o<sup>446</sup>va<sup>447</sup> o<sup>448</sup>va<sup>449</sup> o<sup>450</sup>va<sup>451</sup> o<sup>452</sup>va<sup>453</sup> o<sup>454</sup>va<sup>455</sup> o<sup>456</sup>va<sup>457</sup> o<sup>458</sup>va<sup>459</sup> o<sup>460</sup>va<sup>461</sup> o<sup>462</sup>va<sup>463</sup> o<sup>464</sup>va<sup>465</sup> o<sup>466</sup>va<sup>467</sup> o<sup>468</sup>va<sup>469</sup> o<sup>470</sup>va<sup>471</sup> o<sup>472</sup>va<sup>473</sup> o<sup>474</sup>va<sup>475</sup> o<sup>476</sup>va<sup>477</sup> o<sup>478</sup>va<sup>479</sup> o<sup>480</sup>va<sup>481</sup> o<sup>482</sup>va<sup>483</sup> o<sup>484</sup>va<sup>485</sup> o<sup>486</sup>va<sup>487</sup> o<sup>488</sup>va<sup>489</sup> o<sup>490</sup>va<sup>491</sup> o<sup>492</sup>va<sup>493</sup> o<sup>494</sup>va<sup>495</sup> o<sup>496</sup>va<sup>497</sup> o<sup>498</sup>va<sup>499</sup> o<sup>500</sup>va<sup>501</sup> o<sup>502</sup>va<sup>503</sup> o<sup>504</sup>va<sup>505</sup> o<sup>506</sup>va<sup>507</sup> o<sup>508</sup>va<sup>509</sup> o<sup>510</sup>va<sup>511</sup> o<sup>512</sup>va<sup>513</sup> o<sup>514</sup>va<sup>515</sup> o<sup>516</sup>va<sup>517</sup> o<sup>518</sup>va<sup>519</sup> o<sup>520</sup>va<sup>521</sup> o<sup>522</sup>va<sup>523</sup> o<sup>524</sup>va<sup>525</sup> o<sup>526</sup>va<sup>527</sup> o<sup>528</sup>va<sup>529</sup> o<sup>530</sup>va<sup>531</sup> o<sup>532</sup>va<sup>533</sup> o<sup>534</sup>va<sup>535</sup> o<sup>536</sup>va<sup>537</sup> o<sup>538</sup>va<sup>539</sup> o<sup>540</sup>va<sup>541</sup> o<sup>542</sup>va<sup>543</sup> o<sup>544</sup>va<sup>545</sup> o<sup>546</sup>va<sup>547</sup> o<sup>548</sup>va<sup>549</sup> o<sup>550</sup>va<sup>551</sup> o<sup>552</sup>va<sup>553</sup> o<sup>554</sup>va<sup>555</sup> o<sup>556</sup>va<sup>557</sup> o<sup>558</sup>va<sup>559</sup> o<sup>560</sup>va<sup>561</sup> o<sup>562</sup>va<sup>563</sup> o<sup>564</sup>va<sup>565</sup> o<sup>566</sup>va<sup>567</sup> o<sup>568</sup>va<sup>569</sup> o<sup>570</sup>va<sup>571</sup> o<sup>572</sup>va<sup>573</sup> o<sup>574</sup>va<sup>575</sup> o<sup>576</sup>va<sup>577</sup> o<sup>578</sup>va<sup>579</sup> o<sup>580</sup>va<sup>581</sup> o<sup>582</sup>va<sup>583</sup> o<sup>584</sup>va<sup>585</sup> o<sup>586</sup>va<sup>587</sup> o<sup>588</sup>va<sup>589</sup> o<sup>590</sup>va<sup>591</sup> o<sup>592</sup>va<sup>593</sup> o<sup>594</sup>va<sup>595</sup> o<sup>596</sup>va<sup>597</sup> o<sup>598</sup>va<sup>599</sup> o<sup>600</sup>va<sup>601</sup> o<sup>602</sup>va<sup>603</sup> o<sup>604</sup>va<sup>605</sup> o<sup>606</sup>va<sup>607</sup> o<sup>608</sup>va<sup>609</sup> o<sup>610</sup>va<sup>611</sup> o<sup>612</sup>va<sup>613</sup> o<sup>614</sup>va<sup>615</sup> o<sup>616</sup>va<sup>617</sup> o<sup>618</sup>va<sup>619</sup> o<sup>620</sup>va<sup>621</sup> o<sup>622</sup>va<sup>623</sup> o<sup>624</sup>va<sup>625</sup> o<sup>626</sup>va<sup>627</sup> o<sup>628</sup>va<sup>629</sup> o<sup>630</sup>va<sup>631</sup> o<sup>632</sup>va<sup>633</sup> o<sup>634</sup>va<sup>635</sup> o<sup>636</sup>va<sup>637</sup> o<sup>638</sup>va<sup>639</sup> o<sup>640</sup>va<sup>641</sup> o<sup>642</sup>va<sup>643</sup> o<sup>644</sup>va<sup>645</sup> o<sup>646</sup>va<sup>647</sup> o<sup>648</sup>va<sup>649</sup> o<sup>650</sup>va<sup>651</sup> o<sup>652</sup>va<sup>653</sup> o<sup>654</sup>va<sup>655</sup> o<sup>656</sup>va<sup>657</sup> o<sup>658</sup>va<sup>659</sup> o<sup>660</sup>va<sup>661</sup> o<sup>662</sup>va<sup>663</sup> o<sup>664</sup>va<sup>665</sup> o<sup>666</sup>va<sup>667</sup> o<sup>668</sup>va<sup>669</sup> o<sup>670</sup>va<sup>671</sup> o<sup>672</sup>va<sup>673</sup> o<sup>674</sup>va<sup>675</sup> o<sup>676</sup>va<sup>677</sup> o<sup>678</sup>va<sup>679</sup> o<sup>680</sup>va<sup>681</sup> o<sup>682</sup>va<sup>683</sup> o<sup>684</sup>va<sup>685</sup> o<sup>686</sup>va<sup>687</sup> o<sup>688</sup>va<sup>689</sup> o<sup>690</sup>va<sup>691</sup> o<sup>692</sup>va<sup>693</sup> o<sup>694</sup>va<sup>695</sup> o<sup>696</sup>va<sup>697</sup> o<sup>698</sup>va<sup>699</sup> o<sup>700</sup>va<sup>701</sup> o<sup>702</sup>va<sup>703</sup> o<sup>704</sup>va<sup>705</sup> o<sup>706</sup>va<sup>707</sup> o<sup>708</sup>va<sup>709</sup> o<sup>710</sup>va<sup>711</sup> o<sup>712</sup>va<sup>713</sup> o<sup>714</sup>va<sup>715</sup> o<sup>716</sup>va<sup>717</sup> o<sup>718</sup>va<sup>719</sup> o<sup>720</sup>va<sup>721</sup> o<sup>722</sup>va<sup>723</sup> o<sup>724</sup>va<sup>725</sup> o<sup>726</sup>va<sup>727</sup> o<sup>728</sup>va<sup>729</sup> o<sup>730</sup>va<sup>731</sup> o<sup>732</sup>va<sup>733</sup> o<sup>734</sup>va<sup>735</sup> o<sup>736</sup>va<sup>737</sup> o<sup>738</sup>va<sup>739</sup> o<sup>740</sup>va<sup>741</sup> o<sup>742</sup>va<sup>743</sup> o<sup>744</sup>va<sup>745</sup> o<sup>746</sup>va<sup>747</sup> o<sup>748</sup>va<sup>749</sup> o<sup>750</sup>va<sup>751</sup> o<sup>752</sup>va<sup>753</sup> o<sup>754</sup>va<sup>755</sup> o<sup>756</sup>va<sup>757</sup> o<sup>758</sup>va<sup>759</sup> o<sup>760</sup>va<sup>761</sup> o<sup>762</sup>va<sup>763</sup> o<sup>764</sup>va<sup>765</sup> o<sup>766</sup>va<sup>767</sup> o<sup>768</sup>va<sup>769</sup> o<sup>770</sup>va<sup>771</sup> o<sup>772</sup>va<sup>773</sup> o<sup>774</sup>va<sup>775</sup> o<sup>776</sup>va<sup>777</sup> o<sup>778</sup>va<sup>779</sup> o<sup>780</sup>va<sup>781</sup> o<sup>782</sup>va<sup>783</sup> o<sup>784</sup>va<sup>785</sup> o<sup>786</sup>va<sup>787</sup> o<sup>788</sup>va<sup>789</sup> o<sup>790</sup>va<sup>791</sup> o<sup>792</sup>va<sup>793</sup> o<sup>794</sup>va<sup>795</sup> o<sup>796</sup>va<sup>797</sup> o<sup>798</sup>va<sup>799</sup> o<sup>800</sup>va<sup>801</sup> o<sup>802</sup>va<sup>803</sup> o<sup>804</sup>va<sup>805</sup> o<sup>806</sup>va<sup>807</sup> o<sup>808</sup>va<sup>809</sup> o<sup>810</sup>va<sup>811</sup> o<sup>812</sup>va<sup>813</sup> o<sup>814</sup>va<sup>815</sup> o<sup>816</sup>va<sup>817</sup> o<sup>818</sup>va<sup>819</sup> o<sup>820</sup>va<sup>821</sup> o<sup>822</sup>va<sup>823</sup> o<sup>824</sup>va<sup>825</sup> o<sup>826</sup>va<sup>827</sup> o<sup>828</sup>va<sup>829</sup> o<sup>830</sup>va<sup>831</sup> o<sup>832</sup>va<sup>833</sup> o<sup>834</sup>va<sup>835</sup> o<sup>836</sup>va<sup>837</sup> o<sup>838</sup>va<sup>839</sup> o<sup>840</sup>va<sup>841</sup> o<sup>842</sup>va<sup>843</sup> o<sup>844</sup>va<sup>845</sup> o<sup>846</sup>va<sup>847</sup> o<sup>848</sup>va<sup>849</sup> o<sup>850</sup>va<sup>851</sup> o<sup>852</sup>va<sup>853</sup> o<sup>854</sup>va<sup>855</sup> o<sup>856</sup>va<sup>857</sup> o<sup>858</sup>va<sup>859</sup> o<sup>860</sup>va<sup>861</sup> o<sup>862</sup>va<sup>863</sup> o<sup>864</sup>va<sup>865</sup> o<sup>866</sup>va<sup>867</sup> o<sup>868</sup>va<sup>869</sup> o<sup>870</sup>va<sup>871</sup> o<sup>872</sup>va<sup>873</sup> o<sup>874</sup>va<sup>875</sup> o<sup>876</sup>va<sup>877</sup> o<sup>878</sup>va<sup>879</sup> o<sup>880</sup>va<sup>881</sup> o<sup>882</sup>va<sup>883</sup> o<sup>884</sup>va<sup>885</sup> o<sup>886</sup>va<sup>887</sup> o<sup>888</sup>va<sup>889</sup> o<sup>890</sup>va<sup>891</sup> o<sup>892</sup>va<sup>893</sup> o<sup>894</sup>va<sup>895</sup> o<sup>896</sup>va<sup>897</sup> o<sup>898</sup>va<sup>899</sup> o<sup>900</sup>va<sup>901</sup> o<sup>902</sup>va<sup>903</sup> o<sup>904</sup>va<sup>905</sup> o<sup>906</sup>va<sup>907</sup> o<sup>908</sup>va<sup>909</sup> o<sup>910</sup>va<sup>911</sup> o<sup>912</sup>va<sup>913</sup> o<sup>914</sup>va<sup>915</sup> o<sup>916</sup>va<sup>917</sup> o<sup>918</sup>va<sup>919</sup> o<sup>920</sup>va<sup>921</sup> o<sup>922</sup>va<sup>923</sup> o<sup>924</sup>va<sup>925</sup> o<sup>926</sup>va<sup>927</sup> o<sup>928</sup>va<sup>929</sup> o<sup>930</sup>va<sup>931</sup> o<sup>932</sup>va<sup>933</sup> o<sup>934</sup>va<sup>935</sup> o<sup>936</sup>va<sup>937</sup> o<sup>938</sup>va<sup>939</sup> o<sup>940</sup>va<sup>941</sup> o<sup>942</sup>va<sup>943</sup> o<sup>944</sup>va<sup>945</sup> o<sup>946</sup>va<sup>947</sup> o<sup>948</sup>va<sup>949</sup> o<sup>950</sup>va<sup>951</sup> o<sup>952</sup>va<sup>953</sup> o<sup>954</sup>va<sup>955</sup> o<sup>956</sup>va<sup>957</sup> o<sup>958</sup>va<sup>959</sup> o<sup>960</sup>va<sup>961</sup> o<sup>962</sup>va<sup>963</sup> o<sup>964</sup>va<sup>965</sup> o<sup>966</sup>va<sup>967</sup> o<sup>968</sup>va<sup>969</sup> o<sup>970</sup>va<sup>971</sup> o<sup>972</sup>va<sup>973</sup> o<sup>974</sup>va<sup>975</sup> o<sup>976</sup>va<sup>977</sup> o<sup>978</sup>va<sup>979</sup> o<sup>980</sup>va<sup>981</sup> o<sup>982</sup>va<sup>983</sup> o<sup>984</sup>va<sup>985</sup> o<sup>986</sup>va<sup>987</sup> o<sup>988</sup>va<sup>989</sup> o<sup>990</sup>va<sup>991</sup> o<sup>992</sup>va<sup>993</sup> o<sup>994</sup>va<sup>995</sup> o<sup>996</sup>va<sup>997</sup> o<sup>998</sup>va<sup>999</sup> o<sup>999</sup>va<sup>1000</sup>

Here Tirumalaamba states that the work is a group of letters, and not a single one. It is no exaggeration to say that Tirumalaamba successfully presents novel and valuable ideas through her employment of various figures of speech.

37. Ibid, III. 117.

38. Ibid, III. 117.

39. Ibid, verse 61.



## Influence of Sanskrit Poets in The Varadāmbikā-parinaya.

In the Varadāmbikāparinaya, Tirumalāmbā does not mention a single poet from Sanskrit or Telugu literature. But the influence of some great poets can be seen in this campu.

Bāna:

There is great influence of Bāna's Kādambarī on the Varadāmbikāparinaya. The description of king Nṛsiṃha is modelled on the description of Śūdraka in the Kādambarī.<sup>39</sup>

In Kādambarī, King Śūdraka, says Bāna:

yasmin<sup>1</sup> ca rājani jita jagati paripālayati mahim citrakarmasu  
varṇasāṅkarāḥ, ratesu kesagrahāḥ, kāvyesu drudhabandhāḥ,  
śāstreṣu cintā, svapnesu vipralambhāḥ, chatreṣu  
kanakabandhāḥ, ...na prajānām āsan. (pp. 26-27).

First a locative absolutive (bhāve saptamī) followed by a parisamkhyā alākāra. Tirumalāmbā also attempts the same syntactical construction, while describing Nṛsiṃha.

yasmin vismayantīmati paripālayati<sup>†</sup> vasumatīm,  
bhāṅga tarāṅgamālīnī, pararthobhilaṣaḥ sukavitvaśālīnī,  
sanmārgalaṅghanam candramasi, viśamavṛttakramas chandasi  
....virejire (pp. 19-22).

In Kādambarī, king Śūdraka is indifferent to women. Therefore, he spends his time with music, poetry and learned discourses:

sa kadācid anavaratodolāyamāna-ratnavalaye...  
saṅgītakaprasaṅgena, kadācid...mṛgayāvyāpāreṇa....  
kadācid ābadhavidagdha-maṇḍalah kāvyaprabandha  
racanena...divasam anaiṣīt (pp. 36-38).

---

39. Bāna. Kādambarī, Kathāmukham, pp. 15-35.

Compare this with the following passage from the

Varadāmbikāparinaya:

kadācid-audava-śāḍavādibhedāturasvara-grāma-viśeṣa-  
mūrchonā-prapañcāka-vipañcī-samanvita-gāṇākarnanayā,  
kadācana....kavitā-prasaṅgena kadācana....mantra-  
vicāreṇa, kathanācana divasān ativāhitavān. (142)

King Acyuta was smitten by love for Varadāmbikā. He too spends his time listening to music accompanied by vīṇa, or listening poetic compositions of various kinds like drāma, verse and prose or discussing state-craft. Here Tirumalāmbā displays her knowledge of saṅgītaśāstra by using various technical terms from this science.

In one instance, she also makes a conscious imitation of Śrīharṣa. In the first canto of Naiṣadhiyacarita, Śrīharṣa describes Nala's horse in a long kulaka.<sup>40</sup> Tirumalāmbā also devotes some verses and prose for describing Acyuta's horse, and his skill in horse riding,<sup>41</sup> just as Gaṅgā Devī has also done in her Madhurāvijaya.<sup>42</sup>

Here the imitation is not syntactical or structural but in the field of ideas. Nala's horse is swift like mind, so is Acyuta's horse, both are compared to Indra's horse; both

---

40. Śrīharṣa, Naiṣadhiyacarita; I. 58-64.

41. VP. pp. 105-117.

42. Madhurāvijaya, IV. 20-29

are endowed with an auspicious mark called devamani and so on. But, even though she borrows ideas, her wording and expression have a charm of her own.

Tirumalāmbā is successful in her attempt to compose the difficult form of campū. She shows equal skill in prose and verse, in stringing long compounds and employing figures of speech. Indeed this first campū written by a woman poet is comparable to the best efforts by men poets.

## Chapter VII.

## Rāmabhadraṁbā Her Life and Time .

About a hundred years after Tirumalāmbā had composed the Varadāmbikā-parinaya in campū form at Vijayanagara, Rāmabhadraṁbā wrote the Raghunāthābhyudaya in the form of a Mahākāvya at Tanjore in the Tamil country.

The downfall of the Vijayanagara kingdom commenced under Acyutarāya in the first half of the 15th century. In the next century the kingdom had little influence and was supplanted by a number of small regional kingdoms. One of these was the Tanjore kingdom under the Nāyaka dynasty. The Nāyaka kings of Tanjore were Telugu speaking princes and were related to the kings of Vijayanagara, and were originally subordinated to them. The founder of the dynasty Civva married Mūrtyāmbikā who is said to be the sister of Tirumalāmbā the author of Varadāmbikāparinaya.<sup>1</sup>

---

1. Cemakūrd Venkataṭakavi, Vijayavilāsam,

thīvi natyutarāyala deviyaina  
tirumalāmbaku nanujayai tejarillu /  
mūrimāmbanu bendiyai kīrti velāya  
jevvabibhūdu mahonnata śrīla jelage //

ā mūrtimāmba kakhila ma  
himāṇḍala nāthu datyutendruḍu suguṇe  
dādamuḍu janmincene dad  
dbhūmipati raṅgadhāmu pūjanmincen //

quoted in Cāganti Śeṣayya, Andhra Kavi Tarāṅgiṇī, Vol. XII,  
pp. 2-3. See also Raghunāthābhyudaya, VI.11. Where the

Their son was also called Acyuta.

Acyuta's son Raghunātha (1614-1633 A.D.) and his son Vijayarāghava (1633-1674 A.D.) were great patrons of learning. Many talented women poets who wrote in Sanskrit and Telugu, decorated their court.

Rāmabhadṛāmbā's Raghunāthābhyudaya deals with the life of this Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore. What is the relationship of the poet with Raghunatha? At the beginning of the poem she refers to Raghunātha as:

kr̥tī sa evātra kṛtau sahāyo  
natho mama śrīraghunāthanāmā // <sup>2</sup>

However, in the later sargas, while describing Raghunātha's marriages to various princesses, she does not mention her own marriage with him.<sup>3</sup>

---

name of Acyutarāya's queen is not mentioned.

bhāryābhavattasya dharāvalārer  
mūṛtyāmbikā mūrtimati eva kīrtih /  
ākhyā guṇairacyutarāya devyāḥ  
sahodara ślāghyataraprahāva //

2. RA, I. 10.

3. Ibid, VI sarga:

Therefore, the word 'nātha' in the stanza cited above does not mean lawful husband, but merely 'Lord' or 'master'. This rather forces us to presume that Rāmabhadrāmbā might have been Raghunātha's concubine like several other ladies in his court. Poet Rāmabhadrāmbā does not give any other information about her personal life in the poem. The fact that she does not mention the names of her parents may also suggest that she was a Vesīyā.

However, in the colophon at the end of each canto she gives a grand account of her poetic talents. She can compose hundred stanzas in one ghatika, i.e. twentyfour minutes (śatalekhinī) and she can create simultaneously four types of poems in eight languages (samāsamaya-lekhiniyāṣṭabhāṣā-kalpita caturvidha-kavitā).<sup>4</sup>

It is not clear what these types of poetry are. The eight languages may be Sanskrit, several varieties of Prākṛit such as Mahārāṣṭrī, Saurasenī etc., in addition to Telugu, Tamil and Kannada. As will be explained later, these two seems to be the standard accomplishments of ladies at the court of Raghunātha and his son Vijayarāghava.

---

R.A,  
4. . . . ., colophon.

iti 'srīrāmabhadra karuṇā katkṣā labhā, sārāsārasvata  
pravardhamāna śatalekhinī samāsmaya lekhanīya ṣṭabhāṣā  
kalpita, caturvidha kavīṇuprāṇita sāhitya sāmrajya  
bhadrapītharūḍha rāmabhadrāmbā viracite raghunāthābhyudayaḥ.

One of the court poets of Vijayarāghava Nāyaka (1633-1674 A.D.) named Cengalva Kālakavi, wrote a Telugu poem Rājagopālavilāsamu. In that poem he mentions that Rāmabhadraṁbā was his pupil, and takes credit for her various accomplishments, such as 1. the ability to compose one hundred stanzas in one ghaṭika (ghaṭikāśata-grantha-ghaṭa<sup>no</sup>tkata-navina-pāṇḍitya-garima) 2. ability to compose poems consisting only of labial consonents (eṣṭhya); or without using any labials at all (niroṣṭhya) or poems full of deep sentiment (uddāma-rasa-garbha). Further, it is said that her poetry has the sweetness comparable to that of mango blossom (mākamāda-mañjarī-madhu-jharī-mādhurya-racana-viśesa).<sup>5</sup>

---

5. Cengalva Kālakavi, Rājagopālavilāsamu (Telugu):

ghaṭikāśata-grantha-ghaṭanotkata-navina-pāṇḍitya-  
garimalu bhaliyanāga

eṣṭhya-niroṣṭhyādikoddāmarasagharbha-saṇḍrbhamaunani  
sannutimpa /

mākamāda-mañjarī-madhujharī-mādhurya-racana-viśeṣam  
aurāyananga

parihṛtetara-yuktibhāga-nūtana-kathā-cāturya-ādhuryata  
sannutimpa

ayyadinamula rāmabhadraṁmavāru neḍu kṛṣṇāji kavitalnerpu  
merasi

vinikiseyutal ell mi ghanata gāde kavivinuta-carya  
cengalva kālanārya //

quoted by T.R. Chintamani, in his introduction to RA.

Since Kālakavi wrote in Telugu, we may assume that his pupil Rāmabhadṛāmbā was also a Telugu-speaker. From this stanza of Kālakavi, we also learn the full name of our poet viz. Ayya<sup>1</sup>namula Rāmabhadṛāmbā. The first part is the surname and the second one is the personal name. In the case of the personal names, an interesting fact can be noted. The Telugu personal names of women are usually made up of Sanskrit prātipadika to which the honorific 'amma' is added as suffix: Rāmabhadra+amma= Rāmabhadramma. This is the Telugu form of the name. However, while writing in Sanskrit such Telugu names are sanskritized as Rāmabhadṛāmbā (by replacing 'amma' with 'amba' (cannoting the same)).

It is said that Rāmabhadṛāmbā like most of the contemporary poets was an expert in samasyāpūraṇa.<sup>6</sup> The following stanzas, in Sanskrit and Telugu are said to have been composed by her in this manner:

kaṭi kati naḥ kṣitipayah  
 kim te raghunāthanāyakāyante /  
 bhuvi bahavaḥ kila taravaḥ  
 kim te santānapādapāyante //<sup>6</sup> (Sanskrit)

erī nī sarirājulu?  
 bhūraṇanulu ninnu jāla bogaduduru bhalī  
 svārājani rerājani  
 rārājani yactyutendra raghunāthanrpa //<sup>7</sup> (Telugu)

---

6. Quoted by T.R.Cintamani. Introduction to RA,

7. Quoted by Ūtukūri Laksmikāntamma. Āndhra Kavayitrulu, p.43.



In the tenth canto she describes the battle between Raghunātha and Jaggarāya near Topur which took place in 1616 A.D.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, the Raghunāthābhyudaya must have been composed not earlier than 1616 A.D. Most probably Raghunātha died in 1633 A.D. So the work must have been written between 1616-1633 A.D. T.R. Cintamani thinks that it was written around 1625.<sup>9</sup>

Raghunāthābhyudaya was first made known to the world by S.Krishnaswami Aiyangar in his Sources of Vijanagara History. In 1934 T.R.chintamani edited the Raghunāthābhyudaya based upon the manuscript copy of the work deposited in the Sarasvati Mahal Palace Library, Tanjore (No.3722). It is in a good condition containing 900 ślokas. In two places, a few stanzas are missing: II. 31-46; VII. 27-29. This is the only one edition available.

The poem consists of twelve cantos. In the first canto, the poet gives a description of the Colādesa in 75 ślokas. In this canto the poet presents the Cola country as a prosperous one. She tells about the rice fields, river Kāveri, its beautiful high buildings, banana, coconut gardens, about the agrahāras, temples, its everlasting Yajñas, its beautiful maidens, and the praise of Raghunātha, and its mango Groves.

8. Khandavalli Laxmirājanam. Andhrula Caritra-Samskriti.  
(in Telugu) p. 372.

9. T.R. Chintamani. Introduction to RA.

In the second canto Tanjore, the Capital City of Coḷa country is described in 60 verses. Here the poet emphasises the wealth and compares it with Indra's Amarāvati. She speaks of the extent of the Capital City, the armies of elephants and horses, of the beautiful women of Tanjāvur and their literary accomplishments, and about the wealth of Raghunāthanāyaka.

In the next canto Raghunātha is described in 51 ślokaś. Here Rāmabhadraṁbā declares that even a three year old girl has the capacity to compose poetry in the kingdom of Raghunātha (II.20).

The fourth canto contains 71 ślokaś, and describes the palace called 'Kamalāvilāsa Sadana', Raghunātha's devotion towards Hari, the recital of the Rāmakathā written by him and about his faith and worship of Lord Rāmachandra.

In the fifth canto there are 58 verses describing the make-up, dress, ornaments of Raghunātha, his arrival into the court, and his court.

The sixth canto narrates the ancestry of the King. Here the poet states that his dynasty was founded by Cevva and his wife Mūrtymbā was the sister of Vijayanagara king Acyutarāya's wife.

The personal beauty of Raghunātha is described in detail in the seventh canto. The coronation of Raghunātha as yuvarāja, the decoration of the Capital for this function, presentations by the vasal kings also narrated in this canto. Mention is

also made of the marriage of Tundīra princess, his heroic deeds in this canto.

His various victories were described in the eighth canto in 102 verses. In this canto the poet mentions some historical figures, the King of Nepāla (presently Jafna in Ceylon i.e. Srīlanka)<sup>10</sup>, Karnāṭaka (Vijayanagara) king, Śrī Raṅganātha, Jaggarāja, the king Tundīra, Kṛṣṇapa Nāyaka. The defeat of Cola is also narrated in this canto.

In the 9th canto there are 71 verses. In this canto the wonderful construction of boat bridges by Raghunātha's engineers at Siṃhala, restoration of the Nepāla king to his kingdom. The proceedings of the battle at Topur are narrated.

The tenth canto consists 76 verses. In this, death of Jaggarāja at Topur is described. Some persons were mentioned in this sarga like Rāvilla Venka, Mākarāja, Rāja Dalvoy Cañca. The capture of Kṛṣṇapa's fortress Bhuvanagiri by Raghunātha's soldiers, Raghunātha's return to Tanjore are described in this canto.

In the eleventh canto, the return of Raghunātha to Tanjore is described. There are valuable descriptions of accomplishments of ladies in the court of Raghunātha, names of his queens. The description of his famous places like 'Rāmasaudha', 'Indirāmandira', different types of musical instruments are described.

---

10. Cāganti Śeṣayya. Andhra Kavi Tarāṅgiṇī, Vol. XII, p. 21.

The twelfth is concluding canto of Raghunāthābhyudaya. It consists of 89 ślokas. In this the poet gives the information about Raghunātha's nāṭyaśālā (dance hall), different types of tālās used in dance and music, performances of different types of dances in front of Raghunātha, his sports with beautiful women in moon-light, womens' make-up, praising the king by bards in the early morning, his worship to Rāmabhadra, Raghunātha attending the court etc. This Mahākāvya concludes wishing him a long life by the grace of Rāmachandra.

On the whole Raghunāthābhyudaya is a beautiful Mahākāvya, containing about 900 ślokas. The historical and cultural events mentioned by Rāmabhadraṁbā are very authentic because she was the only contemporary of Raghunātha's time.

## Chapter VIII.

Historical Background of The Raghunāthābhyudaya.

Soon after the foundation of the Vijayanagara, Prince Kampana was sent to free Madhura from the Muslim rule. His expedition resulted in the fact that the entire Tamil country including the Cola country around Tanjāṇur, and Pāṇḍyan kingdom with Madhura came under the sway of the Vijayanagara empire.

About 1540 A.D., king Acyutarāya of Vijayanagara, gave Mūrtyāmbikā, the sister of his wife or concubine Tirumalāmbā in marriage to his General Cevva or Sevvappa and made him the Viceroy of Tanjore. This Cevva is considered to be the founder of the Nāyaka kingdom.<sup>1</sup> He and his descendants, though nominally vassals of Vijayanagara kings, often displayed independence, wherever the central rule was weak. Cevva's son Acyutanāyaka, who ruled from 1577 to 1614.<sup>2</sup> His son was Raghunātha Nāyaka, the hero of the poem Raghunāthābhyudaya, Raghunātha ruled from 1614 to 1633.

Rāmabhadraṁbā gives a detailed account of this dynasty in the sixth canto of the Raghunāthābhyudaya. She begins the account with Cevva's father Timma and his wife Bayyāmbikā.<sup>3</sup> They belonged to the Śūdra caste (avarāja jāti).<sup>4</sup> Their son was Cevva. He built the big Gopura for the god Śeṇādrinātha (Tiruvannāmalai) at varādhācalam, he constructed a gopura

---

1. Heras, p. 173. 2. Ibid, p. 287. 3. RA. VI. 3, 4.

and erected a dhvajastambha in the Śiva temple. At Śrīśaila he constructed the steps on the mountain leading to the temple and wall around the temple of Śiva. On the banks of Kāverī he built several temples and endowed several agrahāras.<sup>5</sup>

Cevva's son was Acyutanāyaka.<sup>6</sup> His wife was also called Mūrtyambikā.<sup>7</sup> He was also a pious king and he made many endowments.

#### Acyuta Nāyaka.

King Acyuta built a golden Vimāna, a throne and crown with precious gems for God Śrī Rāṅganātha. At Rāmeśvaram he gave several dānas including the muktātulāpuruṣa dāna, i.e., he weighed himself against pearls and distributed these pearls among brāhmins. He endowed many agrahāras to brāhmins.<sup>8</sup>

In the Raghunāthābhyudaya, the poet compares Acyuta to Indra. He was like Cupid. Scholars honoured him as their teacher.<sup>9</sup> He was deeper than the sea, boundless like the sky, in tatva-jñāna he was just like Vedas for boundless knowledge. He had great qualities and he was a kind hearted man.<sup>10</sup>

---

5. RA., VI. 7-10.

6. Ibid, VI.12.

7. Ibid, VI. 20.

8. Ibid, VI. 13-15.

9. Ibid, VI. 18.

10. Ibid, VI. 19.

The many endowments he made became famous from Kanyākumārī to Kāśmīr. Not only kings but even gods praise his generosity during the sacrifices.<sup>11</sup> Like Ādiśeṣa he bore the weight of this earth.<sup>12</sup>

By the grace of Rāṅganātha, a son was born to him, who was named Raghunātha. He was the great Nāyaka King and the hero of the Raghunāthābhyudaya kāvya.

In his Telugu poem Raghunātha-Rāmāyana, Raghunātha himself describes his ancestors. However, he begins the description only from his grand-father Cevva.<sup>13</sup>

When Raghunātha came of age, King Acyuta married him to the daughter of the king of Pāṇḍya and other royal princesses.<sup>14</sup> Thereafter he installed Raghunātha as yuvarāja and delegated to him some of his responsibilities.<sup>15</sup>

#### Prince Raghunātha's Campaigns

Soon Raghunātha had to prove himself on the battlefield. At that time Vijayanagara kingdom was ruled by Venkaṭadevarāya. Muhammad Kuli Qutb Shah the Sultan of Golkonḍa, marched towards Penugonḍa where Venkaṭadevarāya was residing and occupied the town.

11. RA, VI. 16.

12. Ibid, VI. 17.

13. Raghunātha, Raghunātha-Rāmāyana, I Canto (Telugu), Colophon p. 27: mūrtimāmbā-garbha-sukti-muktāphala cinacevvayācyuta nṛpālaputra.

14. RA, VII. 36.

15. Ibid, VII. 35-42.

Here the poet narrates that Venkaṭadevarāya requested Acyuta Nāyaka to send his son Raghunātha to fight against the Golkonda Sultan.<sup>16</sup> Instead of sending Raghunātha, Acyuta himself got ready to help the Karnāṭakaking, but Venkaṭadevarāya insisted on having Raghunātha. He compared Raghunātha with Rāma,<sup>17</sup> and expressed his belief that Raghunātha alone had the capacity to route out the enemy. Rāma while still a child helped Viśvāmitra by killing the Rākṣasas. Likewise, the young Raghunātha can defeat the enemy and help Venkaṭadevarāya. Acyuta Nāyaka was convinced and sent his son Raghunātha with a large army, after thorough preparations. After stopping for sometime at Candragiri Raghunātha marched to Penugonda<sup>18</sup> where he was recieved by Venkaṭadevarāya with great pleasure.<sup>19</sup>

Raghunātha drove away the Muslim army from Penigonda, and thus saved Venkaṭadevarāya.<sup>20</sup> The king of Murusa at Ballālapura fortress in the North Arcot district opposed Raghunātha, but was defeated by him.<sup>21</sup> He also subdued

16. RA, VII. 43, 44.

17. Ibid, VII. 51.

18. Ibid, VII. 56.

19. Ibid, VII. 62.

20. Ibid, VII. 65:

nārācapātair naraḍevasūneḥ  
 palāyamānās ca raṇe patantaḥ /  
 atyākulatvād abhayārthinas te  
 rāmastrate rātricarā ivāsan //

21. Ibid, VII. 68-70. See also Horas, p. 310.



other vassals and restored the kingdom of Karnāṭaka to Venkaṭadevarāya, who acknowledged his help in public court and honoured him with presents of horses and jewelry.

The restoration of the Karnāṭaka empire to Venkaṭadevarāya by the young Raghunātha was a great achievement. Raghunātha himself proudly refers to it in his Raghunātha Rāmāyana.<sup>22</sup>

At that time another vassal Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka of Tundīra, ie. Jinji, was held prisoner by Venkaṭadevarāya.<sup>23</sup> On Raghunātha's request, Venkaṭadevarāya freed Kṛṣṇappa. The later was very grateful to Raghunātha and gave his sister in marriage.<sup>24</sup>

After these great achievements, when Raghunātha returned to Tanjore, his father Acyuta recieved him with pomp and show.<sup>25</sup> After Raghunātha became king, he led many victorious campaigns. Rāmabhadraṁbā gives a detailed description of three such campaigns.

22. Raghunātha Rāmāyana (Telugu), Bāla Kāṇḍa, Canto I. Colephon. p.27.

karnāṭarāja pūjanīya dhaurandharaya.

23. Heras, p. 403.

24. RA. VIII. 74:

tundīranāthah savadhūr anāthah  
pranāmya bhaktyā padayor amuṣya /  
karam svasur grāhayati sma sadyo  
rakṣādha<sup>2</sup>rinam raghunātham enam //

Heras, p.404, wrongly states that he gave his daughter in marriage.

25. RA, VII. 79.

1. Defeat of Colaga:- During his reign, Raghunātha got information about Colaga who was very cruel like rāvana molesting all people and women. This Colaga built a fort in an island at the mouth of Kāveri.<sup>26</sup> Raghunātha was determined to punish Colaga. As a first step he reached Kumbhadhona one of the capitals of Cola country in Tanjore district.<sup>27</sup> Then he marched towards the island where Colaga was living.<sup>28</sup> The brave Colaga was afraid when he heard about the coming of Raghunātha. He requested Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka for help. Although Raghunātha caused his release from the prison in the past, Kṛṣṇappa forgot his help, and against the advice of his own ministers he joined Colaga to fight against Raghunātha.<sup>29</sup>

Like Śrīrāma in the past, Raghunātha constructed a bridge and crossed the sea.<sup>30</sup> In that battle he used cannons, the soldiers climbed the fort with the help of ladders.<sup>31</sup> Colaga was defeated. He surrendered himself and together with his women to Raghunātha.<sup>32</sup> Raghunātha took him as a prisoner and confined in his own jail.

26. RA, VIII. 79; Heras, p.406-408, states that this Colaga a vassal of Kṛṣṇappa.

27. RA, VIII. 72.

28. Ibid, VIII. 77; Khaṇḍavalli Laxmīrañjanam in his Āndhrula caritra Samskruti, p. 371, identifies this island as Devikōṭa.

29. Ibid, VIII. 80.

30. Ibid, VIII. 84.

31. Ibid, VIII. 89-92.

32. Ibid, VIII. 94.

In his Telugu poem Raghunātha Rāmāyana, Raghunātha refers to this victory in the expressions:

sādhitāsamudrāmtara-dvīpa para-nṛpāṇa-samstuta-pratāpa.

Thus Raghunātha suppressed Colaga.

2. Resoration of Jaffna:- The kingdom of Nepāla was occupied by the Portuguese (phirāṅgis). This Nepāla is identified with Jaffna in the north of Ceylon.<sup>33</sup> The king approached Raghunātha for help. He recieved the help given by Raghunātha's grandfather Cinacevva his father Acyuta, to his ancestors in the past.<sup>34</sup> The phirāṅgis occupied his kingdom through foul play.<sup>35</sup> and Raghunātha must help him.

Raghunātha assured him that he would reestablish him on the throne.<sup>36</sup> For this he set out with his forces for the battle against the Portuguese.

With the help of his navy and his brilliant engineers he constructed a bridge with boats and reached the shore.<sup>37</sup>

---

33. cf. Cāgantī Śeṣayya, Āndhra Kavi Tarāṅginī, Vol. XII, p. 21.

34. R.A. VIII. 16.

35. Ibid, VIII. 20. (cchadma kṛtyair)

36. Ibid, VIII. 13-23.

37. Ibid, IX. 12:

vinā vilambam vimatāñ jigīṣur  
mahīpatis tatra mahāmburāsau /  
taribhir evottaraṇāya tūrṇam  
akalpayat setum ananyaśādhyam //

see also Āndhra Kavi Tarāṅginī, vol. XII. p. 20

He used different types of arms including canons. A terrific battle took place, and the Portuguese were defeated. They left all their wealth and families and flew away in boats.<sup>38</sup> Raghunātha then restored the kingdom to the Nepāla king. Here Rāmabhadraṁbā glorifies this deed by saying that Raghunātha coronated Nepāla king in his kingdom, just as Rāma coronated Vibhīṣaṇa.<sup>39</sup>

By restoring the Nepāla king to his throne Raghunātha assumed the title "Nepāla-bhūpāla-sthāpanācārya", as he mentions in his Telugu Rāmāyana.<sup>40</sup>

38. RA, . IX. 17-22-

39. Ibid, IX. 23:

vidhāya vidveṣivadhaṁ svyodhair  
vibhīṣaṇaṁ rāma ivātmabhaktaṁ /  
nepālabhūpaṁ raghunāthanetā  
tadāspade tatra samabhyāśīcat //

40. Raghunātha Nāyaka, Raghunātha Rāmāyana (Telugu),  
colophon. p. 27.

3. Defeat of the Pāṇḍya King:- After the death of Venkaṭadevarāya of Vijayanagara there was an outbreak of civil war, his ministers crowned his son Śrīraṅgarāya as the king of Karnāṭaka.<sup>41</sup> But Jaggarāja a close relative of the royal family<sup>42</sup> was against him. One night he entered the royal palace and murdered the king, his wife and children.<sup>43</sup> At that time one faithful washer man succeeded in rescuing one of his sons called Rāmarāya and brought him out of the palace. A faithful servant of Karnāṭaka took that boy to Raghunātha.<sup>44</sup> Raghunātha a faithful vassal of Karnāṭaka was determined to reestablish that boy as the king of Karnāṭaka.

Through his spies he got information that in the West the Pāṇḍya and the Tundīra kings formed a co-alition against him and wanted to kill him.<sup>45</sup> He assembled a large army and

---

41. Heras, p. 512. Raṅga his second nephew as his successor.

42. Heras, p. 496, identifies this Jaggarāja as the father-in-law of Venkaṭadevarāya. Father of Bayamma the first queen of Venkaṭadevarāya.

43. RA. VIII. 28.

44. Khaṇḍavallī Laxmīraṅjanam, Andhrula Caritra Samskriti, p. 371, mentions the faithful servant of Karnāṭaka as Yācama Nyāka. The statement is supported by Cāganti Śeṣayya, Andhra Kavi Tarṅgini, Vol. XII, pp. 18, 19.

45. RA. IX. 25.

marched to the westren capital Tovūr.<sup>46</sup> His army consisted of camels also.<sup>47</sup> Rāmabhadraṁbā narrates that merchants with their goods, dancers, veśyās, poets and bards alŏ accompanied the army.<sup>48</sup> The poet says the noise of Raghunātha's forces resounded from the eastren ocean to the westren.<sup>49</sup>

In this historical battle Pāṇḍyas, the Tuṇḍiras, and the Portuguese helped Jaggarāja and Raghunātha fought against all of them for the restoration of the boy Rāmarāya as Karnāṭaka king. This battle at Tovūr took place in 1616 A.D.<sup>50</sup> The forces of the Pāṇḍya king flew away when they faced the Raghunātha's powerful army.<sup>51</sup> Raghunātha and his brave soldiers killed Jaggarāja and his relatives in the battle field.<sup>52</sup>

---

46. RA., IX. 29.

47. Ibid, IX. 39.

48. Ibid, IX. 40-42.

49. Ibid, X. 1.

50. Cāgaṇṭi Śeṣayya, Āndhra Kavi Taraṅgiṇi, Vol XII. p. 19.

51. RA. X. 24.

52. Ibid, X. 28.

At last the brave king of Pāṇḍya was also defeated by Raghunātha and captured, but was released by him.<sup>53</sup> In memory of this great historical victory Raghunātha erected a Vijayastambha on the banks of Kāveri.<sup>54</sup>

After the suppression of the Pāṇḍya king, the Tundira king Kṛṣṇappa began to gather forces and start a rebellion against Raghunātha. Getting this information from his spies, Raghunātha sent his army against Kṛṣṇappa. Then he marched along the banks of Kāveri and reached Pañcanaḍim<sup>55</sup> and awaited the result of the expedition of his army.

Raghunātha's soldiers captured several fortresses like Bhuvanagiri etc, but Kṛṣṇappa and others fled away.<sup>56</sup> Raghunātha finally returned victoriously to his capital Tanjore.<sup>57</sup>

These are the historical accounts given by Rāmabhadraṁbā in her kāvya.

53. RA, X. 36, 37, 39.

54. Ibid, X. 41-60.

55. Ibid, X. 62.

56. This was identified as Tiruvaijūr by T.R.Cintamani. RA. summary.

57. RA. X. 66-69, 75.

## Chapter IX.

The State and Society as Depicted in The Raghunāthābhyudaya.

Tirumalāmbā was intimately connected with Acyutarāya. Yet in her Varadāmbikā-parinaya, the information she proves us either on Acyuta or on the Society of that time does not go beyond conventional descriptions and stock phrases.

Rāmabhadraṁbā's descriptions are also conventional. Yet she provides much valuable information on the historical personalities, as <sup>well</sup> as the society and culture of her times. Her Raghunāthābhyudaya, therefore, can be considered as a very useful source for the history of Tanjore Nāyaka kingdom.

In this chapter, the social and cultural material that can be gleaned from the Raghunāthābhyudaya will be discussed.

## Ideals of Kingship

In two passages Rāmabhadraṁbā describes the ideals of kingship. Since she wrote this in the lifetime of Raghunātha Nāyaka and with his approval, it may be concluded that these ideals are shared by Raghunātha and his ancestors.

She narrates that Acyutanāyaka and his wife Mūrtiyambikā performed a penance. God Śrīraṅga appeared in person and asked Acyuta to seek a boon. Then Acyuta said that he wanted a son with the following qualities.

He should receive tributes from the kings of 18 dvīpas. He should be able to seize the royal attributes of kings living



beyond the seas or within fortifications, but at the same time he should earn fame by returning the kingdoms to the enemy when once the enemy accepts the former's overlordship. He should show his prowess on the battle-field and be on ocean of virtues. He should be engaged daily in constructing innumerable temples, and establishing agrahāras. He should feed a great number of brahmins every day. He should be able to compose poetry in several languages in a short time.<sup>1</sup>

These ideals can be divided into three fields. Politically, the Nāyaka kings wanted to expand their influence beyond the seas into Jaffna peninsula in Ceylon.

In the religious field, they wished to erect temples, make endowments of agrahāras for the brāhmins, and also feed innumerable brahmins everyday. It was said they used to feed one lakh brāhmins daily at Tanjore. Such great devotion towards gods and brāhmins was displayed so that their low caste status is overlooked.

More important is their cultural ideal. The kings patronized poets and themselves cultivated poetry. Here too the aim was towards feats of versification, namely, to produce 100 verses in a short time(<sup>1</sup>satalekhini) or to produce verses in any one of the innumerable metres(vṛttaprastāra) or to write in several languages and in several types of compositions. Not only the kings and their poets mastered these accomplishments, but several courtesans were adept in this practice as will be shown below.

---

1. RA. VI. 36-39.

Ideals of kingship were discussed in another passage also.<sup>2</sup> Here the ministers give a small discourse to Raghunātha Nāyaka. This can be compared to the advice given by minister Śukanāsa to prince Candrāpīda in Bāṇa's Kādambarī.

Raghunātha requests his ministers to give him the right advice on different political matters and on the conquest of different kingdoms. They say that a king should be dhīrodātta, truthful, kind-hearted, generous, learned, protector of the poor, and he should leave the responsibilities to the ministers. He who knows the four upāyas, namely sāmā, Dāna, Bheda and Daṇḍa can conquer enemies. If he has strength and valour he can defeat the enemies soon. For a king dānas increase his fame. A good king should have the capacity to grasp everything said by his ministers. He should have the skill to tackle all matters with utter care.<sup>3</sup>

#### Raghunātha Nāyaka

The founder of this dynasty is Timma. Rāmabhadraṁbā expressly states that he belonged to the Śūdra caste.<sup>4</sup> The hero of the poem Raghunātha Nāyaka is shown to be an embodiment of these ideals. In the seventh canto, Rāmabhadraṁbā presents a Keśādi-nakhānta-varnana. She says that Raghunātha was endowed with all the physical characteristics of mahāpuruṣa.

---

2. RA, VIII. 36-48.

3. Ibid, VIII. 45.

4. Ibid, VI. 2.

Throughout the poem, she glorifies Raghunātha as the incarnation of Śrīrāma or as Indra on earth. To depict him as an ideal king, she bestows on him all the superior qualities. However, this<sup>5</sup> is not a mere flattery of the patron. Other contemporary writers also speak of the high qualities of Raghunātha, such as his scholarship and proficiency in various fine-arts.

In the fourth canto Rāmabhadraṁbā describes the daily routine of Raghunātha. This is a valuable account because Rāmabhadraṁbā has a personal knowledge of his habits. As soon as gets up, Raghunātha worships the Sun God, and the tawny cow.<sup>5</sup> Then he proceeds to a palace called Kamalāvilāsa. There he sits on bhadrapīṭha and worships Hari with great faith.<sup>6</sup> The royal Purohita decorates Raghunātha's fore-head with white Ūrdhvaṇḍra.<sup>7</sup> Then he concentrates his mind on Rāghava and constantly turns his fingers on pearl beads to perform japa.<sup>8</sup> He worships Śrīrāma with fragrant flowers. Then he receives the prasāda of the holy Tulasi leaf and wears it on the ear.<sup>9</sup> Then he hears the recitation of the story of Rāma. After receiving the blessings from brāhmins, he enters his palace. He was a strict, faithful devotee of Śrīrāma. Daily he worships Rāma twice, in the morning as well as in the evening.<sup>10</sup>

---

5. RA, II. 1, 30.

6. Ibid, IV. 34.

7. Ibid, IV. 35, 36.

8. Ibid, IV. 37.

9. Ibid, IV. 38, 39.

10. Ibid, IV. 34-41, XII. 83.

In the eleventh canto, Rāmbhadrāmbā names Raghunātha's various palaces such as Rāmasaudha (XI.28), where he worships Rāma and Indirāmandira (XI. 37), most probably Raghunātha's recreation hall, where he conducts all his literary activities.<sup>11</sup> After the cultural show he used to honour the artists with gold, money, and valuable gems, ornaments,<sup>12</sup> scented betal leaves which is a special mark of honour.<sup>13</sup>

There is also an interesting description of his meal.<sup>14</sup> He was served by beautiful maidens in golden vessels. They sing sweet songs while he dines with his queens. After the meal he walks hundred steps, while at the same time muttering Rāmāyaṇasāra Saṅgrah composed by himself.<sup>15</sup> Then he chews the Tulsi leaves and afterwards scented betal leaves.

#### Dress and Ornaments

At several places Rāmbhadrāmbā mentions the dress and ornaments worn by Raghunātha. He wears golden bearded cloths.<sup>16</sup> His shirt was studded with pearls.<sup>17</sup> Some times he wears silk

---

11. Cāganti Śeṣayya, Āndhra Kavi Tarāṅgiṇi, Vol. XII. pp. 26, 28.

12. RA. XII. 28: abhinayana-rasānurūpamarān  
mukhara-mukheṣu muda sabhājaneṣu /  
atullita-kanakābhiseka-mukhyaiḥ  
sapadi vadhūḥ sambhāvayan mahīnuḥ //

13. Ibid, XII. 30: kastūrikākunkuma-gandhasāra-  
karpūravīṭi-kanakāmbarādyaiḥ /  
sambhāvayan vīksya sabhāntarāsthān  
prākhyāpayat pāṛthiva-loka-candraḥ //

14. Ibid, XI. 82-89.

cloths.<sup>18</sup> He wears many types of valuable ornaments, pearl<sup>ear</sup>-rings(V.8), pearl-necklaces(V.12), Pearl key<sup>u</sup>ras(V.13), angadas studded with rubies(V.14) and bracelets studded with rubies and peals(V.15).

Beautiful maidens of the harem smear sandal paste and sprinkle scented water on him. His forehead was decorated with Kastūrītilaka. His cheeks shine with the luster of his gemset ear rings.<sup>19</sup> In moon-lit nights he wears flower garlands on his head and body.

#### His Palaces.

In the Raghunāthābhyudaya the poet mentions the various palaces of Raghunātha such Rāmasaudha, Indirāmandira, Nāṭyaśāla. These palaces of Nāyaka kings were mentioned by other contemporary scholars, and poets also.

15. RA, XI.88.      śataṃ padānāṃ śanakais tadā vrajaṇ  
japan sa rāyaṇasārasaṅgraham /  
tataḥ prasāde tulasedalaṃ harer  
acarvad urvipatir ādṛtavrataḥ //
16. Ibid, IV. 3:    valamānāhema-vaśṇāñcalāñcitaḥ.
17. Ibid, V.9:      mauktikāṅkam avahaṃ manohāraṃ kañcukaṃ.
18. Ibid, VII.2:    yasyejjval-kaiśikena.
19. Ibid, IV. 10-12, 17, 32.

Rāmasaudha contains the statue of Śrīrāma, who is Raghunātha's iṣṭadevatā. His living quarters appear to be in a palace called Indirāmandira. In the twelfth canto Rāmabhadraṁbā specially mentions about his dance hall (nāṭyaśāla). It was decorated with the best gem festoons, filled with scented agaru smoke. There valuable stones were studded in doors and windows.<sup>20</sup> The hall was filled with the fragrance of the flowers and camphor. Raghunātha used to sit on a Bhadrāsana. There he saw the various performances of plays, dances, with different tālas with different musical instruments.<sup>21</sup>

#### Raghunātha's Literary Achievements and His Circle.

Rāmabhadraṁbā depicts the hero as a great lover of music, dance, and great patron of arts and literature. In reality also king Raghunātha was a great scholar in various fields. He composed poetry both in Sanskrit and Telugu. Following are his works in Sanskrit.

1. Mahābhārata tātparya saṁgraha.
2. Rāmāyaṇakathāsāra.
3. Saṅgītasudhā.
4. Sāhityasudhā.
5. Bhāratasudhā.
6. Acyutendrābhyudaya.

---

20. RA. XII.2. Cāganti Śeṣayya in his Āndhra Kavi Tarāṅgiṇī (Telugu) Vol. XII, pp 28, 29, mentions these palaces Indirāmandira is the best and it was his residential palace.

21. Ibid, XII. 11-30.

Among these works Bhāratasudhā is about dance based on Bharatanāṭyaśāstra.<sup>22</sup> Acyutendrābhyudaya is about Raghunātha's father Acyuta Nāyaka.

Raghunātha contributed nine works to Telugu literature.

They are:

1. Pārijātāpaharanam, which he is said to have composed in his childhood.
2. Acyutābhyudaya, a Dvipadākāvya.
3. Gajendramokṣa, a Dvipadākāvya.
4. Rukminī Śrīkrṣṇa Vivāham, a Yakṣagāna.
5. Jānakīpariṇaya, a cātukāvyam.
6. Vālmīkīcarita, a Prabandha with three āśvāsas containing 450 verses with prose.
7. Raghunātha Rāmāyana, it is a mixture of 467 verses and prose.  
It was translated by Madhuravāṇī, a pupil and courtesan of Rāṅganātha, into Sanskrit.
8. Śrīṅgāra Sāvitrī, a śrīṅgāra prabhandha in two āśvāsas.
9. Nalacarita, a Dvipada in eight āśvāsas.

Among these nine works of Raghunātha, only the last mentioned four works are extant.

Raghunātha was a great expert in the theory and practice of music also. His Saṅgītasudhā was a joint work with his minister Govinda Dikṣita. Its introduction gives historical information of Nāyaka kings of Tanjore. Particularly it tells

---

22. M. Krisnamachariar, History of Classical Sanskrit Literature.

about the deep knowledge Raghunātha had in Karnāṭaka music<sup>23</sup>. He gave detailed information regarding fifty rāgas and 15 melakartas (composers). This information is very useful for vīna. Raghunātha himself introduced a new rāga named as Jayantaseṇa and a new Tāla called Rāmanāda<sup>24</sup>. Venkaṭamakhi sone of Govinda Dīkṣita, and Madhuravāṇi were his pupils in vīna.

Raghunātha was a great patron of scholars and poets. His minister Govind Dīkṣita composed Saṅgītasudhā. He also wrote Sāhityasudhā, which describes the history of his masters Acyuta and Raghunātha. He also wrote a comentary on Sundarakāṇḍa of Rāmāyaṇa<sup>25</sup>.

Govinda Dīkṣita's two sons Yaḥṇanārāyaṇa and Venkaṭamakhi were Raghunātha's pupils. Venkaṭamakhi wrote Sāhityasamrajya kāvya and Caturdaṇḍiprakāśika and vārtikabharana. Yaḥṇanārāyaṇa, the author of Sāhityanākara in 13 cantes, Raghunāthavilāsa, a five act play, Raghunāthabhūpālaviḷaya a poem describing the greatness of Nāyaka kings, specially about Raghunātha. He also wrote a comentary on Venkaṭeśvara's Citrabandharāmāyaṇa<sup>26</sup>.

Kṛṣṇādhvari, cemaḱurī venkaṭa kavi, and Cauḍappa were his court poets. Kṛṣṇādhvari wrote Raghunāthabhūpālīya on poetics, in which the illustrations are in praise of his

23. Ibid, p. 867.

24. G. Nāgayya, Telugu Sāhitya Samikṣā, p. 289.

25. M. Krishnamacharias, History of Classical Sanskrit Literature, p. 233.

26. Ibid, p. 234.



patron Raghunātha, besides Naisadhaparijata,<sup>27</sup> Kalyana Kaumudi, Kamdarpa Natakam, Śrīngāra Sanjivani, Tāla Cintāmani. These are dedicated to Raghunātha. In these, only Naisadhaparijata was published. Cemakūra Venkata Kavi a famous Telugu poet of Raghunātha's time wrote two Telugu prabandhas. 1. Sāraṅgadhara Caritra, 2. Vijayavilāsa. He dedicated the latter one to Raghunātha. Kavi Coudappa wrote a Sataka.<sup>28</sup> The fact that twenty works in Telugu and Sanskrit languages were dedicated to this scholarly king shows his popularity among poets and scholars.

He greatly encouraged courtesans in his court. Rāmabhadraṁbā and Madhuravāṇi were famous among these. Rāmabhadraṁbā wrote a historical Māhākāvya Raghunāthābhyudaya. Madhuravāṇi translated Raghunātha's Telugu Rāmāyaṇa into Sanskrit upto Sundara Kāṇḍa. It contains 1500 verses in 14 sargas. Raghunātha honoured Madhuravāṇi by performing Svarṇābhiṣeka to her. The courtesans in Raghunātha's court were gems in their fields. It is a golden period for the Sanskrit and Telugu literature which reached its heights.

#### Women and Their Accomplishments.

It is a fortunate thing to note that Rāmabhadraṁbā in her poem gives a wealth of information about Raghunātha and his courtesans in eleventh and twelfth cantos. In the very beginning of the poem, glorifying Raghunātha's literary

---

27. Ibid, p. 236.

28. G. Nāgayya, Telugu Sāhitya Samīkṣa, pp. 420, 421.

abilities and achievements, Rāṁabhadraṁbā says- in Raghunātha's palace even a three year child can have the ability to compose poetry as if goddess of learning Sarasvatī lives in the place.

antaḥpurāntar harīṇekṣaṇāsu  
 trīhayaṇinām apī dīvyamānaṁ /  
 viloka vidyāvibhāvaṁ ajasraṁ  
 vasaṁvadaṁ yasya vadanti vāṇīm //<sup>29</sup>

The courtesans of Raghunātha Nāyaka are skilled artists in all fine arts. They are skilled in different languages. They could compose 100 verses within a ghaṭika (24 minutes) and also can write them down. They were experts in Samsyāpūrāṇa. They are well versed in poetry. They can give discourses not only on well known kāvyas, nāṭkāś, and prabandhas, but also on Vaiśeṣika and Pātanjali Mahābhāṣya. They are skilled in playing vīṇa and also singing. They were experts in dance and in a type of dance drama called Yakṣagāṇa.

In the twelfth canto Rāṁabhadraṁbā describes Raghunātha's dance hall and the dances performed by beautiful artist who were experts in dance and music. Here the poet displays her deep knowledge of music.

The artists of Raghunātha danced beautifully in front of Raghunātha, when five types of talas were playing.<sup>30</sup> They played Jayamaṅgala, Simhalilalīlā, turaṅgalīla and raṅgābharana three more different types of tālas Harinandana, Nandinandana, sūla etc in front of Raghunātha.<sup>31</sup> When the king was pleased with their art he honoured them with scented betel leaves and plenty of gold.<sup>32</sup>

## Customs.

The Raghunāthābhyudaya mentions a number of interesting customs of Tanjāvur in the 17th century. It is said that when Raghunātha went on campaign, people who are skilled in massage and baths accompanied the king. He was also accompanied by singers, bards, and prostitutes.<sup>33</sup> The defeated king presents numerous elephants, horses, gems etc. to the victorious king.<sup>34</sup> To welcome the victorious king the city women decorated him with garlands of madhūka flowers.<sup>35</sup>

When the king enters into the hall the maidens with silver canes in their hands show the way to the king and the purohitas with ~~P~~<sup>ṛ</sup>ṇnakumbhas and auspicious instrumental music lead him inside the hall. (V.33).

It is a custom when vassals visit the king they bring the best things as presents. From the east the vassal king brings diamonds, from the south the king brings the best pearls from Tāmrāparṇī, from the west the king brought

30. RA. XII. 23: cāncatpuṭādyair nṛpateḥ samīpe  
bhavāsyajātair naṭana prapañcam /  
prapañcayat pancavidhaiḥ salīlam  
mrgeksaṇā kācana margat<sup>ā</sup>laiḥ //

31. Ibid, XII. 24, 25.

32. Ibid, XII. 23-30.

33. Ibid, VII. 67-71.

34. Ibid, X. 55.

35. Ibid, XI. 10.

rubies and from the north the king brought heaps of gold.<sup>36</sup>

At the time of coronation of the prince the streets of the city were decorated beautifully. Like the beautiful facial expressions of dancers the people of Tanjore decorate their stages with golden banana trees and gemset festoons. The atmosphere was filled with the sweet smell of flowers and the *kṛṣṇāgarudhūpā*.<sup>37</sup>

When the king left on a campaign his vassals present him gold embroidered tents, *kaṭāha*, *karkari*, jewelled gem carpets, beads, stages sealed boxes filled with money and ornaments, decorated with valuable gem and golden feet-boards, bags and boxes to the king.

*Sālabhanjikas* carved with great beauty put at the entrance on either side of the palaces.<sup>38</sup> They use fountains to beautify their palaces.<sup>39</sup> They use machines to extract coconut oil. For irrigation they have canals.<sup>40</sup>

---

36. RA? V. 45-48.

37. Ibid, VII. 36-39.

38. Ibid, V. 23.

39. Ibid, I. 63.

40. Ibid, I. 66, 20.

In Raghunātha's court even his maid servants wear jewelled ornaments, shows the prosperity of his reign.<sup>41</sup> To increase their beauty the women used to wear gemset bangles and anklets; For long and curly hair they use scented oil and increase their beauty by wearing fragmented flowers in their heads. They use kālāgarudhūpa to dry their hair.<sup>42</sup>

During Raghunātha's reign the women were very conscious about their beauty. To beautify their faces they decorate their faces with kuṃkuma.<sup>43</sup> They used to smear saffron on their breasts and cover it with cloth.<sup>44</sup>

---

41. RA, V. 51.

42. Ibid, XI. 3, 12, 13, 21, 31.

43. Ibid, XI. 5.

44. Ibid, XII. 45.

Poetic Qualities of The Raghunāthābhyudaya.

Rāmabhadraṁbā wrote the Raghunāthābhyudaya in the form of a Mahākāvya. She begins her kāvya with the praise of Śrīrāma, who is her iṣṭādaiva. This Mahākāvya begins with an auspicious letter 'a' in the word ānanditau.

The main theme of this Mahākāvya is the daily routine of king Raghunātha, such as his morning adulations, his worship of the Sun, holy cow, earth, Agni and his iṣṭādevatā Śrīrāma at his Kamalāvīlāsa palace.<sup>1</sup> His court activities and his literary activities were discussed in detailed manner.<sup>2</sup> Political matters and his decisions were discussed in the sixth canto. The poet devotes more than half of her Mahākāvya to the description of King's cultural activities, especially in the company of courtesans and skill in fine arts as well as in literature. Through this the poet gives rich information of Raghunātha Nāyaka's interest and encouragement of women poets and artists. These were discussed in detailed manner in the last two cantos.

During that time there seems a trend to write about their lord's daily routine. Before Rāmabhadraṁbā, Raghunātha himself wrote a dvipadakāvya in Telugu called Acyutābhyudaya about his father.<sup>3</sup> Like Raghunātha his son Vijayarāghava also wrote two works in Telugu. Both are called Raghunāthābhyudaya, but one

---

1. RA. IV, 30, 31-41.

2. Ibid, V. 51-57.

3. M.Krisnamachariar. History of Classical Sanskrit Literature, p. 230.

is a dvipada and the other a yakṣaṣāṇa. Here he describes Raghunātha's daily routine, specially Raghunatha's love affair with Chandrarekha and their union.<sup>4</sup> During this time many poets wrote on this theme. So naturally Rāmabhaḍrāmbā gives more importance to her patron's daily routine. In the middle of the kāvyā she provides valuable information about Raghunātha's military campaigns.

The Raghunāthābhyaudaya is divided into twelve sargas. Each sarga is written in a different metre, with a change at the end. However in the eighth and twelfth cantos, the poet uses different metres for each stanza. This will be clear from the following table.

| No. Canto | Predominant metre | Change of metre at the end of the canto.          |
|-----------|-------------------|---|
| 1.        | 1-73 Upajāti      | 74 Puṣpitāgra<br>75 Vasantatilakā                 |
| 2.        | 1-57 -do-         | 58 Vasantatilakā<br>59 Mālīnī<br>60 Vasantatilakā |
| 3.        | 1-49 -do-         | 50 Śārdūlavikrīḍita<br>51 Mālīnī                  |
| 4.        | 1-69 Mañjubhāṣinī | 70 Vasantatilakā<br>71 Śālīnī                     |
| 5.        | 1-57 Upajāti      | 58 Mālīnī   |
| 6.        | 1-58 -do-         | 59 Vasantatilakā                                  |
| 7.        | 1-78 -do-         | 79 Śālīnī   |
| 8.        | Different metres  |   |
| 9.        | 1-69 Upajāti      | 70, 71 Aupacchandāsika                            |

---

4. Cāgaṇṭi Śeṣayya. Āndhra Kavī Taraṅgiṇi, XII. pp. 22, 23.

|     |                |                       |
|-----|----------------|-----------------------|
| 10. | 1-61 Śālinī    | 62-76 Various metres  |
| 11. | 1-95 Vamśastha | 96-109 Various metres |
| 12. | Various metres |                       |

Thus altogether she uses 21 types of metres. They are as follows:

1. Indravamśā
2. Indravajrā
3. Upajāti
4. Upendravajrā
5. Aupacchandasika
6. Kalahamśa
7. Drutavilambita
8. Pañcacāmara
9. Puṣpitāgrā
10. Mañjubhāṣiṇī
11. Praharṣiṇī
12. Mālinī
13. Rathothhata
14. Rucirā
15. Vamśastha
16. Vasantatilakā
17. Vaitāliya
18. Śārdūlavikrīḍita
19. Śālinī
20. Sṛagharā
21. Svagatā.

Other poets writing on historical themes begin the poem with the description of the mythical founder of the dynasty of the hero. Rāmabhadraṁbā does not follow this linear pattern. She begins



with the description of Coladesa, the capital Tanjāvur and its king Raghunātha. His ancestors and his youth are introduced in the middle of the poem, through the praise of the bards. This is like the flash-back technique in modern literature. It is a great innovation on the part of Rāmabhadraṁbā.

#### Descriptions.

Rāmabhadraṁbā gives equal importance to the story as well as to the descriptions. These include descriptions of capital city Tanjāvur. She reserves one full canto for the description of Tanjāvur city. Praising the Coladesa, its fertile lands enriched by the waters of river Kāveri, she says:

rasālamādhvīrasasāraṇībhiḥ  
kaidārake yatra kṛtāmbuseke /  
sahyātmajāyāḥ satataṁ vahantyaḥ  
phalaṁ payodheḥ parir̥mbha eva //<sup>5</sup>

At another place she compares the river Kāveri with a dancer and her rangasthala is the Coladesa.

rangasthale yatra rasottaraṅgam  
sahyātmajāyām satatam naṭantyaṁ/  
rasālaveṣā rasikā vilokya  
muktābhiṣekaṁ muhur ācaranti//<sup>6</sup>

She glorifies the beauty of the capital city Tanjāvur. About deep waters of the moat encircling the city, she says that the waters are so clear that they reflect the gemset palaces of the city.

---

5. RA. I. 23.

6. <sup>9bid</sup> RA. I. 32.

parikhāsalilād atiprasannāt  
 phaṇilokaḥ pratibimbatām prapannah /  
 valabhau maṇimandirasya yasyām  
 vahate vāsavapattanasya sāmāyam //<sup>7</sup>

The palaces of Tanjāvur are as beautiful as those in Amarāvati.<sup>8</sup>  
 The city has the best elephants, horses, and its wealth and beauty  
 are comparable to anything in the world. The women are so beautiful  
 that it appears as if their dark tresses are clouds raining  
 Sr. ngārarasa:

vidhubimbamukhī-vinīlavenī-  
 ghanasṛṅgārarasātivarṣataḥ kim /  
 abhavannabhikāṅgakāni yasyām  
 adhikotkampana-romaharṣaṇāni //<sup>9</sup>

In wealth it is more than the Kuber's Alakāpurī:

kṛayavikrayataḥ kṛtārthacaryā  
 maṇijālāṅkitamandirā yadaryāḥ /  
 prahasanti maheśapārśva-labdhāv  
 apī durvarṅgrhāśrayaṁ kuberam //<sup>10</sup>

Tanjāvur's beauty increases with the gardens and the fragrant  
 flowers.<sup>11</sup>

8. RA. II. 10

8. Ibid, II. 28.

9. Ibid, II. 54.

10. Ibid, II. 57.

11. Ibid, II. 47-49.

Rāmabhadṛāmbā gives a detailed account of Raghunātha's different palaces. Raghunātha worships Śrīrāma at Kamalāvilāsa-mandira.<sup>12</sup> A portion of the Kamalāvilāsa is said to have the audience chamber of Raghunātha Nāyaka. At several places she glorifies its beauty. Rāmabhadṛāmbā gives a charming explanation why it was called by this name.

padmā sadā yasya kaṭākṣapadme  
prāptādhivāsā prathayaty abhiṣṭam /  
ity eva matvā hṛdaye kavīndrāḥ  
padmaṁ tādīyaṁ bhavanaṁ vadanti //<sup>13</sup>

About the construction and the beauty of the Nāṭyaśāla, Rāmabhadṛāmbā has this to say. It is decorated by valuable gems, pearl festoons and filled with scented fumes of kālāgaru.

mahārhamuktāmaṇikṣiptamālikā-  
vitāna-saṁvīta-vitāna-lakṣitām /  
samagra-kālāgaruphūpa-sajjanām  
manojña-nānāmaṇijāla-jālikām //<sup>14</sup>

Rāmabhadṛāmbā gives same importance to the campaigns of Raghunātha, such as war against Pāraśīkas, Solga, Pāraṅgis, Pāṇḍya and Tuṇḍīra kings.<sup>15</sup> She mentions some forts like Candragiri, Penugonḍā,<sup>16</sup> Ballālapura and Bhuvanagiri.<sup>17</sup> She also describes different countries like Karnāṭaka, Tuṇḍīra, Ceylon etc.

12. RA. IV. 30.

13. Ibid, III. 9.

14. Ibid, XII. 2.

15. Ibid, VII-X cantos.

16. Ibid, VII. 59, 60.

17. Ibid, VII. 66, X. 73.

Among all these descriptions Raghunātha's physical description had a special importance.<sup>18</sup> The poet describes Raghunātha's beauty from his hair upto his toenails.

Describing his youth the poet says that his youth shines in each limb. His hair resemble the hair of cāmaras and the tails of peacocks.<sup>19</sup> He had beautiful wide eyes, so that he could look after thousand types of matters.

akhaṇḍabhogair avanau sametam  
ākhaṇḍalaṃ yaṃ nṛpaṃ āracayya /  
cakṣuḥ-sahasrasya samaṃ vyatānīd  
ambhojabhūr akṣiyugaṃ viśālam // 20

He had graceful ears. His eyebrows are curved like Cupid's bow. He had beautiful nose and black moustache. His teeth shone like white pearls with sweet red lips. He had three beautiful lines on his throat. His broad chest indicated his generosity. His arms are strong and rough and his hands are tender.<sup>21</sup>

She also describes Raghunātha's waist, thighs, feet, etc. He had the auspicious sign of lotus in his feet.<sup>22</sup> His nails shone like the twinkling stars. In one word Raghunātha was endowed with all the physical characteristics of a mahāpuruṣa.

18. RA. VII. 1-33.

19. Ibid, VII. 1.2.

20. Ibid, VII. 6.

21. Ibid, VII. 16, 17, 20.

22. Ibid, VII. 31.

This description of Raghunātha can be compared with the bodily description of Acyuta by Tirumalāmbā in her Varadāmbikāparinaya.<sup>23</sup> However, there is an interesting difference between these two descriptions. Tirumalāmbā's description proceeds from Acyutarāya's feet up to his hair (pādādikeśāntavarṇana), whereas Rāmabhadra's poetry travels in the opposite direction (keśādipādāntavarṇana). Moreover, Rāmabhadra's description is more elaborate, she mentions each and every limb.

Besides these descriptions, the Raghunāthābhyudaya contains passages which can be traced as independent. For example, in fourth canto, we come across a Sūryastuti in twelve stanzas. Here is an example from this Sūryastuti.<sup>24</sup>

udayaṃ nirantaram upāsanājuṣaḥ  
 pratipādaye sapadi bhaktasantateḥ /  
 iti kim vicārya hṛdaye samāśṛjuse  
 dinanāyaka tvam udayaṃ dine dine // <sup>25</sup>

In the same canto, there is also a brief version of the story of Rama in twentyfive stanzas.<sup>26</sup> In this brief account the poet shows her skill in giving every important account that occurred in Rāmāyana. For example, the following verse describes the

23. Tirumalāmbā. Varadāmbikāparinaya, pp. 93-105.

24. RA. IV. 18-29.

25. Ibid, IV. 26.

26. Ibid, IV. 44-68.

release of Ahalya from her curse:

padapaṅkajāta-rajasaḥ prabhāvato  
viracayya vartmani śilām vilāsinīm /  
dhanur īkṣituṃ sapadi meṇḍhanvano  
mihirānvayaḥ sa mithilām samāsadat //<sup>27</sup>

She did not forget to mention Sabarī the old devotee of Śrīrāma.<sup>28</sup>

### Rasas

The main rasa of Raghunāthābhyudaya is Vīrarasa the heroic sentiment. The hero Raghunātha was described as the incarnation of Śrīrāma in the first canto itself.

nirīti yām śāsati nītirityā  
rāmāvatāre raghunāthabhūpe /  
ārāmavaṭīm ativrṣṭir añcaty  
akṣiṇy anāvrṣṭir aho prajānām //<sup>29</sup>

Throughout this kāvya this Vīrarasa is predominant. Other rasas were also presented accordingly with skill.

During the various battles this Vīrarasa reaches its peak. Here is a grand account of how Raghunātha enters the battle field.

athāvanīpatir adhiruya vāṇṇam  
vilāṅghya taṃ salilanidhiṃ virodhinaḥ /  
purīm rayād adhgatavīrapuṅgavām  
nyarundha tām nirupamavikrama-kramah //<sup>30</sup>

27. RA. IV. 49.

28. Ibid, IV. 58.

29. Ibid, I. 46. III. 1 also mentions him as an incarnation of Śrīrāma.

30. Ibid, VIII. 86.

The following stanza contains powerful account of the battle.

dhūlīpālī-dhūsareyudharāṅge  
kopāviddho ropamārgānurodhāt  
kuntī kopāt ko 'pi kodāṇḍahastaṃ  
bāhamadhye pātayāmāsa sadyaḥ //<sup>31</sup>

In order to intensify the *Virarasa*, Rāmabhadraṁbā depicts *bībhatsarasa* as in the following:

'sastracchinna-kṣatrāgātrāsra-pūraiḥ  
pūrṇe saṃgrāmāṅgaṇe bhūmīpālāḥ /  
lolāḥ kecil lūnagātras tadānīm  
grāhāḥ sindhau kṛptacārā ivāsan //<sup>32</sup>

However, the *Śṛṅgāra* is not fully developed in this poem. It describes Raghunātha love sports with several anonymous queens and courtesans, but there no single heroin in this poem. In the absense of a suitable *ālambana vibhāva* in the form of a heroin, *Śṛṅgāra* rasa could not develop fully. She showed more interest in depicting Raghunāth's cultural activities, his courtesans, and their activities in fine arts. Yet she mildly describes about the Sun-set, the evening, his moon light walks, strolling in the garden etc. In the concluding canto, she compares Raghunātha to *Śrīkṛṣṇa*.

kelīvaneṣu kṛtakācalakandharāsu  
saudhāntareṣu śasikāntasarastateṣu /  
saṃaketitāni caturāḥ śaṅkair ayāsīt  
krīḍāsthalāni nṛpatir jita kṛṣṇalīlāḥ //<sup>33</sup>

---

31. RA. X. 19.

32. Ibid, X. 30

33. Ibid, XII. 34.

Describing his walk in the garden, the poet says that the creepers show their happiness to the king they blossom clusters of flowers.

prasūnagucchastanabhāra-namrām  
udūḍha<sup>h</sup>nūtnotkalik<sup>ā</sup>viśeṣām /  
āmoditām tām atanon mahīnduḥ  
vallīm yathā mādhavikām vaśntaḥ //<sup>34</sup>

### Alaṅkāras.

Rāmabhadṛāmbā makes a skilful employment of alaṅkāras. It is a significant point to note that some of her verses contain both the arthālaṅkāra and śabdāṅkāra. Following are some examples to illustrate her skill in the use of alaṅkāras.

### Upamā

Rāmabhadṛāmbā presents this figure of speech upamā often in her kāvya. In the following verse the poet describes the kastūrītilaka on the face of Raghunātha. She visualises the dark Tilaka mark made of musk on the face of Raghunātha like the sprout of śṛṅgāra rasa, or like the bee that sits on a lotus or like the Cupid's arrow made of blue lotus flowers.

ānanādimarasāṅkuro yathā  
tatpayojayutaṣaṭpado ya<sup>h</sup>tā /  
manmathotpalamayāsugo yathā  
mārganābhi<sup>h</sup>tilakam vibhor abhāt // 35

---

34. RA. XII. 62.

35. Ibid, V. 4



Rūpaka

Rāmabhadraṁbā uses this figure of speech many times in her kāvya. Following is a fine example where a rūpaka and upamā are combined. The trees, like householders (upamā) invite the travellers with their leaf-hands (rūpaka).

āhūya pallava-karair alināda-purve  
dhanyāṇ kaveratanayātata-cūtavātāḥ /  
yasyāṁ gr̥hasthanivahā iva yāvad iṣṭam  
ānandayanti pathikān phalam arpayantaḥ //<sup>36</sup>

Vibhāvanā

This figure of speech occurs when an effect takes place even when there is no cause. Rāmabhadraṁbā gives a fine example for this alaṅkāra. While describing the Coḷadeśa, she says the country abounds in cool waters and shady trees. Therefore, the travellers have no cause for thirst. Yet they resort to the 'prapās' in order to look at the pretty women who distribute water there.

svabhāva-śīteṣu jaleṣu yasyāṁ  
pracchāya-ramyeṣv api pādapeṣu /  
prapāṁ śryante pathikās tadantaḥ  
kāntā-samālokana-kautukena // <sup>37</sup>

Virodhābhāsa

This alaṅkāra occurs where there is a verbal contradiction but not a real one. It is mainly based on 'śleṣa'. Here Rāmabhadraṁbā uses this figure of speech in the following stanza in praise of Sun god.

36. RA. I. 75.

37. Ibid, I.53.

tapano 'si bhāskara tathāpi dehinām  
 bhavadiya-pāda-bhajanānuṣaṅginām /  
 harṣe<sup>a</sup> mahāntam abhitāpam antaram  
 tava vetti ko jagati tatva gauravam //<sup>38</sup>

The Sun god is called tapana (one who burns) and yet he removes the "burning" (abhitāpa, actually sorrow, distress) from the hearts of his devotees.

Rāmabhadraṁbā makes frequent use of śabdālankāra like anuprāśa and yamaka. The following is an example of anuprāśa where the consonents da, la, ra are repeated many times and gives a musical beauty to the verse.

dalat-prasūnānkita-dāma-saurabhī-  
 milanmilindāravamedurodarām /  
 salīlalāsyakrama cakramocita-  
 prakṛpta-karpūra-parāgabhāsuraṁ //<sup>39</sup>

Repetition of a group of letters in the same order but with a different meaning constitutes yamaka. The following is an example for this alankāra.

asti prabhāvair atimānaniyā  
 colāvanī śālivanīnicolā /  
 sahyātma-jāpūra-śaratsamīra-  
 samparkapunya janatāśarṇyā //<sup>40</sup>

In the second line of this verse, there is a repetition of the words cola and vanī. The word 'cola' in the first case refers to the country Cola and in the second case it is part of the

38. RA. IV. 19.

39. Ibid, XII. 3.

40. Ibid, I. 11.

word 'nicola' (that which was covered). Likewise 'vani' in the first case is part of avanī (country) and in the second case refers to fields of rice (śōlivani).

Inspite of her excellent, sharp and deep knowledge in all fields, Rāmabhadṛāmbā has some weak points. She repeats some rare words frequently. Some of these rare words are taken from the Naisadhīyacarita of Śrīharṣa. For example, in the Naisadhīyacarita, the word śaya was used in the meaning of a hand.<sup>41</sup> In Raghunāthābhyudaya, Rāmabhadṛāmbā uses this word many times, for example

śaracāplakṣita śayāmbhujaadvayaṃ  
śaradindumaṇḍalasahodarānanam /  
avanīsutānujaśametam ānamad  
raghunāyakaṃ sa raghunāthanāyakaḥ //<sup>42</sup>

The word pacelima was used in the meaning for natural ripeness in the Naishadhīyacarita.<sup>43</sup> Rāmabhadṛāmbā uses this word during the description of Coladeśa.

pacelimasvādu-phalātihrṣṭa-  
pānthastavāt kim parito 'vanamrāḥ /  
madhyetaṭam tatra marudvrdhāyaḥ  
śamsanti gotrātīśayaṃ kadalyaḥ //<sup>44</sup>

Śrīharṣa used the word pāreparātham describing the good qualities of Nala.<sup>45</sup> It means 'beyond parārtha or the ultimate number'.

41. Śrīharṣa, Naishadhīyacarita, I. 20...tacchayacchāyalavo'pi pallave

42. RA. IV. 33.

43. Śrīharṣa, Naishadhīyacarita, I. 94:

...dadarśa mātura<sup>am</sup>aphalam pacelimam /

44. RA. I. 42.

Rāmabhadraṁbā also employs this word.<sup>46</sup> The word Valāri (Indra) was used by her very often. She equates Raghunātha with Indra. For example, in the second canto she addresses Raghunātha as dharāvalāri(8), valāri (27). In seventh canto Raghunātha was addressed as bhūvalāri(1), mahīvalāri (22). Likewise she uses the word klpta very often.<sup>47</sup>

However, she is a really talented poet and occupies the Sāhityasāmrājya-bhadrapiṭha, as she declares at the end of each canto.

Rāmabhadraṁbā's influence can be seen in later poets. Like her many other composed poems describing the daily routine of Raghunātha and his son. As mentioned earlier in the very beginning of this chapter, Raghunātha and Vijayarāghava wrote books on their fathers. Cangaḷva Kāla kavi a court poet of Vijayarāghava

45. Śrīharṣa. Naishadhiyacarita, III. 40:

yadi trilokī gaṇanāparā syāt  
tasyāḥ samāptir yadi nāyusaḥ syāt /  
pāreparārtham gaṇitam yadi syād  
gaṇeyaniḥśeṣaguno'pi sa syāt //

46. RA. VI. 37:

pāreparārdhya ~~dvi~~japālinitya  
mr̥ṣṭānna ~~dānā~~mita ~~pūṇya~~rāim /  
aseṣa-bhāṣāsamanu praklpta  
kavitva ~~divy~~atghatikā-prabandham //

47. Ibid, II. 43; V. II, 43; VI. 37; VII. 16; and XII canto 2, 3.

in his Rājagopālavilāsa, glorifies Vijayarāghava's court.<sup>48</sup> Koneṭi Dīkṣita kavi, another court poet of Vijayarāghava wrote a yakṣagāna Vijayarāghavakalyāna in Telugu, describing the daily routine and the marriage of Vijayarāghava with princess Madanamañjari.<sup>49</sup>

Another court poet Venkaṭapati Somayāji also composed a yakṣagāna, Vijayarāghava candrikāvihāra. It narrates the marriage of Vijayarāghava with princess Līlāvatī. It also depicts the daily routine of Vijayarāghava. These are some examples to show that in the later days many poets followed Rāmabhadrāmbā in choosing the daily routine of the hero of their poem as a trend set by her.

The Madhurāvijaya, Varadāmbikāparinaya campū and Raghunāthābhyudaya, of Gaṅgā Devī, Tirumalāmbā and Rāmabhadrāmbā, respectively, will always shine as stars in the galaxy of Sanskrit literature. These three ladies of Āndhra Deśa made a major contribution to Sanskrit literature and especially to historical poems.

---

48. G. Nāgayya. Telugu Sāhitya Samikṣa, p. 424.

49. Ibid, p. 426.

## B I B L I O G R A P H Y

## SANSKRIT.

- Kālidāsa. Complete Works of Kalidāsa, ed. Reva Prasād Dvivedi, Vāranāsi, 1986.
- Kauṭilya. The Arthasastra of Kauṭilya, ed. T. Ganapata Śāstri, Delhi. Vāranāsi.
- Kauṭilya. The Arthasastra of Kauṭilya, ed. Vāchaspati Gaurela, Vāranāsi, 1962.
- Gaṅgādevī. Madhurāvijaya, ed. tr. S. Tiruvenkatachāri, Annāmalāinagar, 1957.
- Tirumalāmbā. Varadāmbikāparinaya<sup>campū</sup>, ed. Lakshman Swaroop, Motilal Banārasidas, Lahore.
- Tirumalāmbā. Varadāmbikāparinaya campū, tr. Sūryakānta Śāstri, Chowkamba, Vāranāsi, 1970.
- Trivikramabhaṭṭa. Nalacampū, ed. Rāmanātha Viḍyālaṅkāra, Merut, 1981.
- Daṇḍin. Kavyādarsa, ed. Dharmendranātha Gupta, Delhi, 1973.
- Dhanañjaya. Dasarūpaka, ed. tr. Bhola Shaṅkar Vyās, Vāranāsi, 1979.
- Bāṇabhaṭṭa. Kādambarī, (purvartha) ed. Krishnamohana Śāstri, 4th ed. Vāranāsi, 1976.
- Madhuravāṇī. Rāmāyaṇasāra, MS. Mysore.
- Manu. Manusmṛti, ed. Mansukha Roy Mer, Culcutta, 1967.
- Mammata. Kāvyaprakāśa, ed. Amarendramohan Tarka Tīrtha, Culcutta, 1936.

- Yajñanārāyaṇa. Rāghunāthābhyudaya Vijaya, ed. T.R. Chintāmaṇi, Madras, 1932.
- Rājanātha<sup>Dindima</sup>. Acyutarāyābhyudaya (1-7), ed. R.V.Krishnama chariar.
- Rājasekhara. Kāvyamīmāṃsā, ed. C.D.Dalal & R.A. Sastri, 3rd ed., Bareilly, 1934.
- Rājanātha Dindima. Acyutarāyābhyudaya (7-12 cantos), ed. A.N.Krishna Aiyangar, Madras, 1945.
- Rāmabhadraṁbā. Rāghunāthābhyudaya, ed. T.R. Chintāmaṇi, University of Madras, 1934.
- Vidyānātha. Pratāparudravasobhāṣana, ed. K.P. Trivedi, 1909.
- Virūpākṣa. Colacampū of Virūpākṣa, ed. V.Rāghavan, Tanjore, 1951.
- Virūpākṣa. Virūpākṣa Vasantotsava Campū, Dharwar, 1953.
- Viśvanātha kavi rāja. Sahityadarpaṇa, Vidyābhavan & Sanskrit Ganthanāla.
- Sūdrak. Mṛcchakatika, ed. M.R.Kale, Bombay, 1924.
- Śrīharsa. Naiṣadhiyacarita, Cementary of Nārāyaṇa, ed. Sivadatta and V.L.Pharsikar, 6th edition, Bombay, 1928.

## Telugu.

- Ūtukūri Laksmīkāntamma. Āndhra Kavayitrulu, Rājamandry, 1953.
- Khaṇḍavalli Laksmīrañjanam. Āndhrula Caritra Saṃskṛiti, Bālasarasvatī Book Depot, Kurnool, Madras, 1965.
- Cāgaṇṭi Śeṣayya. Āndhra Kavi Tarāṅgini, Vol. I to XII.
- Tikkana. Śrīmad Āndhramahābhāratamu, Virāṭa Udyoga Parvamulu, Vāvilla Rāmaswāmi & Sons, Madras, 1959.
- Nannaya. Śrīmad Āndhramahābhāratamu, Ādi, Sabhā parvamulu, Vāvilla Rāmaswāmi & Sons, Madras, 1959.
- G. Nāgayya. Telugu Sāhitya Samikṣa, Part II, Tirupati, 1985.
- Pillamarri Pinaveirabharudu. Jaimini Bhāratamu, Vāvilla Rāmaswāmi & Sons, Madras, 1959.
- Perarāju.N. Vijayanagara Caritamu, Kurnool, 1958.
- Mudigaṇṭi Gopāla Redḍy. Saṃskṛita Sāhitya Caritra, Telugu Viśva Vidyālaya, Hyderabad, 1986
- Mukku Timmana. Pārijātāpaharanamu, ed. Utpala Venkaṭa Narsimhāchāryulu, Vāvilla Rāmaswāmi & Sons, Madras, 1918.
- Muddupalani. Rādhikāsvāntanam, Vāvilla Rāmaswāmi & Sons, Madras, 1950.
- Raghunātha Nāyaka. Śrī Raghunātha Rāmāyanamu, Suravaram Pratāpa Redḍy. Āndhrula Sāṅghika Caritra, Hyderabad, 1950.



## Hindi.

Kāshīnātha Hallikhaḍe. Kannada Sāhitya kā Subodh Etihas,  
Vol. I. Bangalore, 1973.

Chavinātha Tripathi. Campū Kāvya kā Alōcanātmaka evam  
Aitihasika Adhyayana, Chowkhamba Vidyābhavan, Vārāṇasi,  
1965.

Bhāskaran Nair.K. Malayālam Sāhitya kā Itihasa ( A History  
of Malayālam Literature.), Vol. II., 1961.

Sivarāma Kāranth. Yaksagāna, tr. B.V.Karanth, Rādhakrishna  
Publication, Delhi, 1973.

English.

- Alphonse Karkala. J.B. ed. An Anthology of Indian Literature, New Delhi.
- Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III. 1894-95.
- Krishnamācārīar.M. History of Classical Sanskrit Literature, 3rd edition, Delhi, 1974.
- Joshi. P.M. & H.K.Sherwani, ed. History of Medieval Deccan, Vol. I. Govt. Andhra Pradesh, 1973.
- Nāgendra. ed. Indian Literature, Prabhat Prakasan, Delhi, 1988.
- Nandalal Dey. The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India, New Delhi, 1927.
- Majumdar.R.C. ed. The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. VI. The Sultanate, 3rd edition, Bombay, 1980.
- Mādhavānanda Swāmi and Majumdar. R.C. Great Women of India, Calcutta, 1953.
- Mudigenda Bāla. The Madhurāvijya of Gaṅgādevī: A Study. (Dissertation), Aligarh Muslim University, 1989.
- Mohd. Habib and K.A.Nizami,ed. A Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V. The Delhi Sultanate, A.D. 1206-1526.
- Rāja Kunjumani. The Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Literature.
- Robert Sewell. A Forgotten Empire of Vijayanagara, A Contribution to the History of India, New Delhi, 1962.
- Warder. A.K. Indian Kāvya Literature, Vol.I. Motilal Banarasi Das, 1974.
- S.N.Dāsgupta. ed. A History of Sanskrit Literature. Classical Period, Vol.I, Calcutta, 1962.

Siegfried Lienhard. A History of Classical Poetry.

Sanskrit, Pāli, Prākṛit, Otto Harrassowitz Wiesbaden, 1984.

Śrīdhara Bābū. D. Kingship: Stat and Religion In South India, Göttingen, 1975.

Henry Heras. The Āraṇyaka Dynasty of Vijayanagara, Vol. I.

Preface by Sir Richard Carnac Temple, B.G. Paul & Co, Publishers, Madras, 1927.